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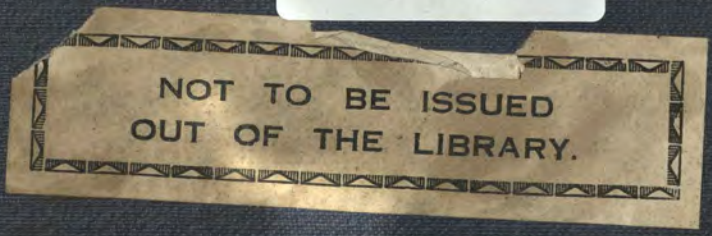
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PREFACE.

NEARLY two years have elapsed since the publication of the preceding volumes of these Commentaries, and they are not yet closed.* So uncertain is the term of those literary labours, where discovery can only be pursued through minute research, and where by critical investigation, we grapple for truth among sturdy antagonists. Yet Research and Criticism, only furnish the materials of Meditation; it is the philosophical spirit which forms the true supplement of History. He who strikes out a new result, has discovered a new fact.

In the whole compass of our history no subject is more difficult to treat than the present; it is so, because the passions of two great parties, never to be extinct, are more interested

* One last volume will conduct Charles the First through the Civil Wars.

in the results, than their philosophy or their candour. But I have not written these Commentaries as a partisan; I leave every reader to his own adopted historian. As for myself, I have adopted every historian, otherwise I could not have become acquainted with the secrets of all parties. I was attracted to the life and reign of Charles the First because I considered them rich in all that interests the moral speculator, and I have composed these volumes solely as the history of human nature.

On the publication of my first volumes, a gentleman, versant in our history, formerly a distinguished member of our diplomatic corps, and moreover a Whig of the old school, told me that I had misconceived the character of Charles the First. As I am not fortunate in impromptu replies, I hope he will not find too tedious, these volumes, which are written to prove, that it is probable, that he has himself misconceived the character of this Monarch.

I must not conclude without offering my grateful acknowledgments to the Right Hon. Lord Eliot for his obliging confidence in the loan of the manuscripts of Sir John Eliot. His Lordship called my attention to the notice which I had taken of his memorable ancestor, in a communication alike distinguished for its

elegance, its courteousness, and its information. I have been enabled to throw some fresh light upon the character of a very eminent personage whose career has hitherto baffled the researches of our historians.

To my ever kind and valued friend, the Right Hon. JOHN WILSON CROKER, whose luminous and acute intelligence is as remarkable in his love of literature and art, as it has been in the course of a long, an honourable, and distinguished public life, I stand deeply indebted for access to the Conway papers, which by permission of the Most noble the Marquis of Hertford, K.G. to whom these valuable documents have descended, he afforded me.

I have received aid from other Friends, and other Manuscripts, which I have acknowledged in my notes. I have particularly drawn much information from the Manuscript Negotiations of Monsieur Melchior de SABRAN, who was the French Resident in England during the years 1644 and 1645. Of these there are two folio volumes in the later additions to our National Library, but there are eight volumes of these inedited Negotiations in the extraordinary collection of Manuscripts of Sir THOMAS PHILLIPS, Bart. of Middle Hill, Broadway, Worcestershire; a collection of many

thousand Manuscripts, which must rank its zealous owner, among the Sloanes and the Harleys of former days.

There was one more source of information which I was advised to seek, for the history of Charles the First — the State-paper Office, to which former historians have always been admitted. It would be graceless in me, not to add that I was honoured by a promise of aid at some distant day; a promise, which is now, equivalent to a refusal.

I. D'ISRAELI.

Bradenham-house,
Bucks,
May, 1830.

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LIFE AND REIGN

OF

CHARLES THE FIRST.

CHAPTER I.

CHARLES THE FIRST CORRECTS TWO GREAT ERRORS IN HIS CONDUCT.

THE three first Parliaments of Charles the First had been alike disturbed and interrupted, and the last of them was violently dissolved. Each separation had only inflamed a more feverish jealousy on the Court side, and a more embittered and contumacious spirit on that of the Patriots. All these Parliaments had been suddenly terminated, to screen two prime Ministers from impending charges, or a threatened impeachment.*

* The Duke of Buckingham and the Lord Treasurer Weston, Earl of Portland.

Clarendon has deeply entered into the subject of these "unseasonable, unskilful, and precipitated dissolutions of Parliament." His editors purposely, or by a false reading of the manuscript, have altered the word "unseasonable," to "unreasonable." Whichever reading we adopt, may lead to the same inquiry.

When the Sovereign interposes to screen an accused Minister, it seems an obstruction of justice. The person thus insidiously protected, finds the imputations of his accusers still adhere to him; he cannot elude the infamy he incurs, or remove the prejudices which are raised against him; the calumny, if it be a calumny, thus left alive, will outlast the calumniated. "Such a Minister," says Clarendon, "is generally concluded guilty of whatever he is charged with, which is commonly more than the worst man ever deserved."

But what are the common qualities of these popular denouncements? The noble writer, with that deep knowledge of human nature which has stored his volumes with theoretical wisdom, has analyzed the constituent portions of these public accusations. They are a mixture to which "this man contributes his malice, another his wit, all men what they please, and most upon hearsay, with a kind of uncharitable

delight of making the charge as heavy as may be." It is, therefore, a consequence that "these accusations are commonly stuffed with many odious generalities that the proofs seldom make good; and when a man is found less guilty than he is expected, he is concluded more innocent than he was, it is thought but a just reparation for the reproach that he deserved not, to free him from the censure he deserved."

All this is admirable, and displays an intimate acquaintance with human nature. But when Clarendon comes to apply his generalizing views to the particular case, the result becomes dubious. He infers, that had these two Ministers submitted to the proceedings designed against them, it had been more for the advantage of the King, and Parliaments had then learned to know their own bounds, by which the extent of their power would have been ascertained. In exempting Ministers from prosecution, by forcible dissolutions of Parliament, the power of the Parliament only became the more formidable. In frequent meetings of Parliaments, "medicines and cures, as well as diseases, had been discerned, and they would easily have been applied to the uses for which Parliaments were first instituted." Clarendon argues in the spirit of a great lawyer jealous of

constitutional rights, which at that time were unsettled, contested, and obscure. In respect to the two accused Ministers themselves, when Lord Clarendon, in his retirement, contemplated on the fate of Strafford and Laud, it might have occurred to him, that Buckingham and Weston had only occupied the same perilous position, and had they lived, would have had to encounter the same inevitable fate. The noble historian, indeed, makes the successful result, which had pleased his fancy, to depend on a contingency, namely—"that Parliaments at that moment were as they had hitherto been; that the Commons had never pretended to the least part of judicature; and that the Peers, to whom every act was referred, deliberated with law and equity, the King retaining the sole power of pardoning." But this was no longer the character of the House of Commons; a new æra had opened, and a revolution in the minds of men had shown itself, even before Charles the First ascended the throne. James the First had good-humouredly called the Commons "the five hundred kings;" and latterly, the popular party were called "the lower-house lords." The Commons were assuming the whole judicature in their own hands. "Parliaments are as the times are," was the

observation of the intrepid Judge Jenkins. The leaders, who are advocating the public cause, may degenerate into factionists; and there is great danger that "the will of the people" may thus become as arbitrary as the worst despotism. As popular men advance in power, they are liable to abuse it. The *états généraux* of France, after the battle of Poictiers, when they got all the power into their hands, terribly abused it; a similar conduct of the deputies of the people may sometimes have occurred in our own Revolution under Charles the First, as it undoubtedly did in the late French Revolution. Adopting the public cause with the intense interest of a private one, the noble patriotism which perpetuates the names familiar in the recollections of every Englishman, was unhappily too often crossed by personal infirmities; too often their designs seem contrary to their principles, and too often the impulse which sprang from a public source, took the direction of a private end. In the ambiguous conduct of their public spirit, the reckless management, and the practised artifices, stamped on it the characteristics of a faction.

Of Lord Clarendon, Mr. Hallam has observed, that "notwithstanding the fine remarks occasionally scattered through his history,

he was no practical statesman, nor had any just conception at the time of the course of affairs." Who, indeed, had? It may even be doubtful whether at first the great movers themselves of the vast and future scene, had any certain notions of the subsequent events. Even as late as in 1639, England lay in deep tranquillity. Clarendon, in noticing Scotland, saw only that "a small, scarce discernible cloud arose in the North." A cloud! He never imagined an earthquake! A revolution of the most extraordinary character, and which was to serve, as it certainly did, for the model of that which was to convulse England for many years, was scarce perceivable in 1639, and the Scots were our "dear brethren," and invaded England in the following year. So difficult it is, to penetrating minds, even in ages more philosophical than that of Charles the First, to form any just conceptions of their own contemporaries, and to decide on events which, while they are passing under their eyes, yield no indication of their extraordinary termination. On the opening of the French Revolution, there surely was no want of great and sagacious minds, yet, perhaps, not a single one could foresee the gulph that lay before them; the gulph which was not distant from the spot on

which they stood. The Count de Segur affords an unexceptionable testimony of this fact. "The year 1789, which was to close with such a vast Revolution in France, and suddenly separate our cabinet from the cabinets of Europe, opened without any one of them foreseeing the approaching concussion. Some flashes of lightning, indeed, during some months, had been the precursors of the storm, but no one surmised it; it was considered that some salutary reforms would terminate the embarrassments of our Government. It was an epoch of illusions!"* The patriots who opened the National Assembly, did not view in their perspective the Convention, nor did the demagogues of the Convention imagine that their reign of terror was to subside into the feeble oligarchy of the Directory. Human affairs create themselves as much as they are made by men; and accidents produce events, as much as events give rise to accidents.

The course of affairs was as little detected by other great men as by Clarendon. Strafford could only view in the daring, unyielding spirit of Eliot "a fantastic apparition;" and, at a much later period, classes the meditative Hampden, and the active Pym, with the

* Segur, iii. 443.

Prynnes, the Burtons, and the Bastwickes; and degrades his own sagacity as much as his taste, when alluding to Hampden, he hints that a certain famous pedagogue might "be well employed to whip this angry boy." Strafford could only be jocular on the curt names of "the Pyms, the Prins, and the Bens;"* and, with ludicrous contempt, affects "to fence himself as strongly as he could against the mouse-traps, and other small engines of Mr. Prynne and his associates." So short-sighted are politicians in power, too deeply occupied by their own projects to contemplate on those of others, as greatly ambitious as themselves!

Charles undoubtedly did not discern with more clearness than Clarendon and Strafford, those awful scenes in which one day he was to be both spectator and actor. He had dissolved his Parliaments with indignant anger; and an English monarch now decided to reign without a Parliament. "A brisk resolution," as Clarendon terms it, but which his wary Editors, at a distant and more temperate day, have interpolated by "improvident." Did the King imagine, by thus straining his prerogative, that when factions were silenced, they ceased to exist? It is probable, however, that

* To whom did he allude by "Ben?"

by this irregular conduct in the monarch, the nation enjoyed ten years of prosperity before their troubles opened on them. This fact, and it is a very striking one, will seem paradoxical to those who are fully impressed with the popular opinions of the tyranny of this unfortunate monarch. Much, indeed, will seem paradoxical in the conduct of the King and the Commons in this irregular reign. Truth changed sides continually between the parties.

Relieved from these continued struggles with his Parliaments, Charles the First doubtless flattered himself that he should govern a willing and an obedient people. This monarch had now entered on the thirtieth year of his age, a period of life when the maturity of the mind begins to influence thoughtful dispositions: and four years of a disturbed reign had taught the Sovereign some lessons which no Monarch had yet received; nor, as we shall find, had some of them passed away unheeded. If the genius of the man, in unison with the genius of the age, were too contracted for the comprehension of the agitated and strange spirit of a new era, which had hardly appeared during the reign of his great predecessor, and had been kept at bay by his good-humoured father, still, had Charles the First discovered two errors in

his political conduct; and, somewhat chastened by the severity of Fortune, the Monarch had tasted of the bitter fruits of favouritism and of military ambition,—and Charles at once relinquished both.

Those Continental wars, or rather those maritime expeditions, by which Buckingham had aspired to invest the monarchy of England with a splendour it seemed to want in the vast theatre of Europe, had been but the illusions of a youthful Prince, and a Minister as young. These wars with Spain and France, seem to have originated in the popular reproach which his father had endured, for having preserved the nation in a peace of twenty years, and in that restless desire of a change of measures which so often torments and delights the English people. Charles had cast the uncertain chances of the die of war; a game which princes are unwilling to quit while losers, but he had the merit to sacrifice his wounded pride. France and Spain gladly conceded a courteous peace.* For them, an English war, without

* Why does Dr. Lingard depreciate the character of Charles the First? That is certainly taking the safe side: but would it be difficult to assign the reason of this systematic conduct in this historian, usual with the members of the Church of Rome, who, whatever the Puritans of the day

an object, became only an obstacle in the vast opposing systems of these potent rivals; and, though they were alike the political enemies of England, in state-policy, all enmity ceases when it requires a friend. Charles now concentrated his entire energies in his own realms, and only looked on the affairs of the Continent with the curiosity of an observer, rarely with the interests of a partner in the balance of dominion.

The King had no longer any favourite, nor would he suffer that envied place to be occupied. From the untimely death of Buckingham, with that strength of character which I have ascribed to him, he had resolved to act

thought, always censure Charles for his compromising and indecisive measures. Our historian observes on this peace, that "Philip, whether it were through generosity or *contempt*, sent back, without ransom, the prisoners made at Cadiz; Louis those taken in Rhé." ix. p. 413. *Contempt!* Charles was never regarded with *contempt* by the rival powers. Both, in 1635, eagerly courted this English monarch, whom Dr. Lingard has thus aspersed. The sensible Jesuit, Père Griffet, states this clearly. "L'Angleterre fut vivement sollicitée d'entrer dans la querelle; la France lui fit les offres les plus avantageuses; l'Espagne n'oublia rien pour la gagner; mais le Roi Charles demeura dans l'inaction." This is much for a Prince who was contemned!—*Griffet Hist. de Louis XIII.* ii. 560.

as his own minister, and he ceased to rest his entire confidence in the labours and the genius of a single person. His habits of application seemed not to unfit him for the official duties of sovereignty. Never was there a Monarch who employed his pen so laboriously—few letters or papers passed his revision without being returned with marginal notes, queries for inquiry, and alterations, which attest the zealous diligence with which he applied to business. Burnet has said, that "He minded little things too much, and was more concerned in the drawing of a paper than in fighting a battle." The silly antithesis carried away the writer's careless pen. It is quite untrue; for the King's marginal notes are not verbal refinements, but substantial inquiries, or decided opinions; and "the concern" he showed in "his battles" at least equalled the courage with which he fought them.

Charles might now have regretted his less fortunate fate, when compared with that of his rival brothers of France and Spain, whose illustrious favourites, Richelieu and Olivarez were maintaining the splendour of their monarchies.

At this moment, our youthful Monarch had

fallen into a great and unavoidable fault in his abandonment of Parliaments, which he knew not the art of governing, even by concessions; but he had the merit of correcting two errors, and freed himself, at the same time, from war and from favouritism.

CHAPTER II.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE CHARACTER OF THE KING.

ALTHOUGH Charles would no longer listen to single counsels, nor would allow any public papers to pass, but through his own hands, yet the Monarch, still young, and apt to be precipitate in his conduct, felt his incompetency in the arts of government. This is evident, by a circumstance observed by Clarendon, and confirmed by others—that the King often adopted the suggestions, and yielded to the opinions of others, of inferior judgment to himself. Of this feature in his character we are quite certain; for long after the death of this unfortunate Prince, St. John, who had been his treacherous solicitor, and now, under the new government of Cromwell, was Lord Chief Justice, in conversation with Dr. Sampson, an eminent physician among the Presbyterians, made this avowal; "The

truth is, the King had an unhappiness in adhering, and unweariedly pursuing, the advices of others, and mistrusting his own; though oftentimes more safe and better than those of other persons. If Strafford may go for a noble Minister of State, yet the Queen, Laud, Buckingham, &c. who had his ear so much to his utter undoing, were fitter for other provinces than that of a Cabinet or Council."* St. John, now, since the curtain had dropped, and the tragedy was over, free from passion himself, delivered his opinions with the temper and truth of an historian.

This very circumstance proves rather a deficient, than a perfect judgment. But at a later period of his life, on many severe occasions, the King discovered such a clear comprehension, and such a promptness of decision, that whenever affairs depended on mere arguments, the King never found his superior. This was confessed by many, and some reflecting men acknowledged, that before their interviews with Charles, they had formed a very erroneous conception of the capacity of the King.

Certain it is, however, that Charles the First was singularly deficient in his experience of hu-

* Dr. Sampson's Day-book, folio 69, Sloane MSS. 4460.

human nature, for he seems never to have discriminated the talents, or the dispositions, of those about him. Hence, he so often confided to the faithless, or the adventurous, and too often employed the inefficient; and while he even courted some, who could return no sympathy, he as strangely neglected others, who had both the power and the inclination to serve him.

As this is one of the more remarkable defects in the character of this Monarch, it deserves a more critical investigation.

In the history of the character of Charles the First, two moral facts interest an observer of human nature. One is, that the faculties of Charles developed themselves as his troubles multiplied on him; and the other is, that the strong personal attachments which Charles inspired, occurred only in the latter years of his adversity. It was when he stood alone in the world, without a throne, that he seemed to have deserved one.

When we compare the correspondence of his earlier days, which still exists, with that of his later age, we perceive in the letters addressed to his father, and afterwards, when King, to Buckingham, that he appears to have surrendered up his mind to them, and that even on the throne, he was still the pupil of that first

companion, on whom he had placed his hopes and his affections. A long interval, and mutable fortunes, intervene from the death of Buckingham to the time of the King's imprisonments, during which a vast number of letters were written by his own hand, often in haste, often in flight. Energy and action, resolution and passion, kindle in those effusions; Charles then had to command—to exhort—to rebuke.

It is not improbable that Charles, from various motives, was averse to the business of politics—there was an ingenuity in his mind fitted to more peaceful pursuits. He disliked, too, the parade of Majesty, which, on more occasions than one, he studiously avoided, and this reserve injured him in the minds of the populace, whose eyes are loyal when Kings are gracious. Charles had no popular qualities for council or for ceremony. He was a man of few words, somewhat abrupt—there was a cold reserve in his speech, and a stateliness in his habits. The one may partly be ascribed to his painful enunciation, a defect which long accompanied him; and the other seems probably to have been assumed, to avoid that loose familiarity, whose inconvenience he must have frequently observed in James I. Although cha-

racter and habits are often hereditary, yet it is not unusual for the son to contract the opposite quality of the father: a reflecting son has had so many opportunities to detect its infirmity. Thence we see the patient and thoughtful son of a hasty and impetuous father, while the slow-minded and phlegmatic sire contemplates in his heir, the fire and daring which he admires and fears.

It is evident that the individual who, when Prince of Wales, had been entirely resigned to the political government of the King, and who, when he ascended the Throne, rested as entirely on Buckingham, would, at a subsequent period, lean on the judgments of others to guide, or to lighten the cares of State. Charles seems willingly to have adopted the opinions of those with whom he consulted, though his own was oftener the eligible one, with the hope that it would terminate difficulties which were repugnant to his temper, his impatience, and his retired habits. Hence in Strafford, and in Laud, in Hamilton and in Digby, he looked for the substitutes of those whom he had lost, and yielded without reserve to their fatal aid. Formed for peace, and the embellishments of life, but placed amid the raging contests of Factions; when he saw the elements of his go-

vernment in dissolution, without a favourite, an adviser, or a partner in the troubles of Royalty, in his last years he stood alone, and never less vacillated in his conduct.

But he was not this being in his early years. It seemed then that he imagined, when he had fixed on an appointment, that the person of his choice was necessarily the very person the place required. He had not a single Minister about him, except Strafford, capable of balancing any one of the leading Members of the Opposition. The horizon of a Court is but a contracted sphere. There precedence and etiquette disguise the man; there genius is levelled to the mediocrity around; and Kings oftener decide by habitude than by judgment.

The character of Charles changed. It was when the sorrows of many years had opened his reserved nature; when long exercised in those hardier virtues which could not have revealed themselves under the canopy of a Throne, that on so many emergencies the Monarch displayed that prompt sagacity, and that deep thoughtfulness of the passing scenes, which won the admiration of those who held with him but an occasional intercourse. Even the courtesy of his manners, and his fluency in discourse, visibly improved. But they who

shared in the tenderness of companionship, who had witnessed his fugitive and precarious existence, and the heroic conduct of his small army; who had heard him treat as a statesman with the most intricate diplomacy of the times, and beheld his undeviating fortitude in lonely captivity, magnanimous though subdued—with these all other emotions melted away in the tenderness of their personal affection, and certainly the devotion of his friends, in his latter days, was greater than it had ever been.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE NEW ADMINISTRATION.

At the breaking-up of the last Parliament, it was a current opinion that "there was really an intention to alter the form of Government both in Church and State." A hint of this nature had formerly menaced the Commons from Sir Dudley Carleton, who had talked of the necessity of "new Councils." Sir Dudley had returned to his native country after long embassies, with foreign notions of the regal authority, such as he had imbibed in the Courts in which he had lived too long for the patriotism of an English Minister. The King, by an angry Proclamation, had told his people that "the late abuse of Parliaments had driven his Majesty unwillingly out of that course, and he, therefore, would account it presumption for any to prescribe any time to his Majesty for the calling of a Parliament." It

closed by a vague promise that "when his Majesty should be more inclinable to meet in Parliament again, and the people should see more clearly into his intents and actions—those who had been misled, might come to a better understanding of his Majesty and themselves."*

What were these "new Councils?" The science of Politics, perhaps, resembles that of medicine, and is too often empirical. A new system of Government, like a change of prescriptions, is nothing more than an experiment; and as Physicians usually adopt a contrary curative method from the one hitherto found unsuccessful, Charles probably meditated to infuse a renovating vigour into his languid administration.

On this subject, I discovered among the pocket memorandum-books of R. Symonds, a Chaplain in the King's army, a remarkable anecdote. The writer, in journalizing the daily movements of the army, in this useful itinerary of marches, has preserved many historical particulars; has sketched, with his pen, many remains of our antiquities; and often inserted anecdotes, on the days he heard them, authenticated by the names of the communicators. The present extraordinary account seems to

* Rushworth, ii. 3.

consist of the heads of a story set down for future recollection.

"The King had written a book with his own hand, wherein were many things concerning Government. And in it a model of government for the nation according to that of France, and to effect it. The bringing in the German horse truly to settle it. Old Earl of Bedford had seen, or heard of the book, and being familiar with Oliver St. John, Secretary of Justice,* told him of it, who by all means wrought with the Earl of Bedford that he might see this book, which he accomplished, and made use of it against the King, which the King perceived, and found it to be Bedford, whereupon he was very angry. Mr. Crisp."†

Such is the tale, never heard before, of a book, written by the King's own hand, never seen. Why was this extraordinary manuscript shown to the Earl of Bedford? Had it disclosed such a system of arbitrary power as the communicator imagined; is it possible that the Earl of Bedford, St. John, Pym, and that party, could ever, on any terms, have acceded to such a project? Or would the King have even

* An unusual phrase—if it mean Solicitor-general; or was this title given to him in the Commonwealth?

† Harleian MSS. 991.

dared to avow it? Excepting this, there is nothing improbable in the story. Charles, as I shall have occasion to show, was an admirer of the great statesman Richelieu, though the Monarch, when the national honour was at stake, had the courage to incur his enmity. Was Charles the First, at a moment of despair, driven to contemplate on a system of government which, like that of Richelieu, might have silenced the Parliament, and have awed the People? If such were the fact, then the real liberty of the English nation was put in more jeopardy than at any other period in the whole history of this reign. The German horse, however, never arrived, nor has this book yet been discovered. After all, I suspect that this very paper-book may turn out to be that famous manuscript, entitled "A Proposition for his Majesty's service, to bridle in the impertinency of Parliament."* The history of this manuscript is curious. The original had been traced to the great library of Sir Robert Cotton, among his other rare literary curiosities. By the treachery of the librarian, a few copies were clandestinely sold, till, being brought into the Star-Chamber, it occasioned

* It is printed in Rushworth's Collections, i.—Appendix 12.

the suspension of Sir Robert from the use of his library; his spirits sank, and it occasioned, by his own confession, the death of our great Collector. The original was the coinage of Sir Robert Dudley, who lived in exile at Florence, and had projected a plan, "how a Prince may make himself an absolute tyrant." He addressed the scheme to James the First, with a view of ingratiating himself. A copy came into the hands of Strafford—and it was also maliciously ascribed to him, in a pamphlet, entitled "Strafford's Plot discovered, and the Parliament vindicated." It is likewise reprinted in the appendix to Ludlow's Memoirs, to render the Earl more hateful.

Sometime after this was written, I discovered that I had not erred in my last conjecture, but I have not altered what I have said, for it may amuse some of my readers to trace the gradual progress of research. The circumstance is noticed by Sir Symonds d'Ewes, in his MS. life, who knew the fact from his connection with Sir Robert Cotton himself. The particulars differ from the anecdote as recorded by the Chaplain.—"St. John, then 'a young studious gentleman,' paid for the loan of this 'pestilent' tract, and showed it to the Earl of Bedford, who was the head of the Oppo-

sition-party, and also related to, and the patron of St. John. This was in 1629, the year in which the third Parliament was dissolved. Strafford had obtained a copy—and one or two other persons."* Such was the real origin of the tale set afloat against the King, whose name does not however appear in the narrative of D'Ewes, though this is no reason why Charles might not also have procured a copy. The artifice of the Parliamentarians is more evident, in ascribing it to Strafford as "a plot" of his own. Had not the correct story been preserved by the Antiquary in his own memoirs, the circumstance recorded positively in the diary of the Chaplain, some of our historians would have accepted as an authentic fact; one, too, which could not have been disproved by any positive evidence. The whole offers a curious example of the foundation and of the invention of many popular tales, which are not improbable, though they may be untrue; and it is such ambiguous facts which exercise the sagacity, and often baffle the researches, of the historian.

But whether Charles ever transcribed this

* The passage from Sir Symonds D'Ewes' life, which is in Harleian Manuscript, has been preserved in Kippis's Biog. Brit. iv. 301.

"pestilent" tract, or at all studied it, it seems certain that he meditated on the means of strengthening his feeble and insulted Sovereignty. Conscious as we may believe this Monarch felt within himself of the integrity of his own purpose, he concluded, that by royally maintaining the public honour in its exterior relations, and by diffusing the prosperity of the people in their domestic interests, he might still accomplish the great ends of Government. It cannot be denied that he fully accomplished these two important objects.

The Parliament had thrown him amidst insurmountable difficulties. They had denied him even the revenues reserved for every English Monarch: these, indeed, the King insisted on retaining; but to raise supplies for the State, he was compelled, without any fault of his own, to resort to expedients which were necessarily illegal. These unpopular modes of taxation came forth in the repulsive shape of arbitrary impositions: the very names which disguised them became so odious, that one of them, though in itself an innocent tax, and most honourably used, has become proverbial for its tyranny; "Ship-money" raised up the first of our Patriots, and proved to be one of the most active causes in the Revolution. Yet

Charles cannot be reproached for exacting monies from his people from any wantonness of prodigality, for he was parsimonious.* From the death of the Duke of Buckingham he became reserved in his bounty, and frugal in his own expenses, and, by retrenchments every year, paid a portion of his debts.† I have myself seen the King's Household Book: all the monthly accounts are signed by his own hand.

* We read Oldmixon with indignation, when he exults at the mean prudence of the Parliament in withholding the necessary supplies for carrying on the Government. "When money is wanted to support profusion and luxury, and enrich favourites." p. 147. Whatever be the error of the father in this respect, his son certainly did not inherit this disposition. It is candidly observed by Whitelocke, that the Ship-money was not oppressive, nor objectionable, excepting that it was not levied by Parliament. p. 22. It was most inviolably used by Charles, who called these monies his "Sea-Contributions," and was often compelled to furnish additional supplies from his own impoverished Exchequer. This obnoxious tax, after all the declamation against it, even of moderate men, as were Lord Falkland, Waller, and Clarendon himself, hardly ever exceeded the sum of two hundred and thirty thousand pounds, by which the sovereignty of the sea was to be maintained! It is an important fact, that the ships which were built with this execrated Ship-money, must have served in our naval victories under Cromwell. The odium of the tax fell on the King, but, having been faithfully used, the nation received its benefit.

† Life of Clarendon, vol. i. p. 19.

So honest was the King in his expenditure, and so anxious to husband his limited resources, although the clamour of his bitter enemies has charged him with raising supplies for his own personal conveniences. It was not discovered till the times of the Commonwealth that the demands of the Monarchy had been very moderate.

It is probable that Charles the First contemplated never again to call a Parliament. We are acquainted with his forcible style concerning them. In his hatred, or his contempt, Parliaments were "like cats that grow cross with age," and in his fear, or his horror, they were "a hydra, which he had found cunning as well as malicious." Charles had retained too indelible a recollection of the past, and felt that the Commons had ungenerously used him. Even at a later period, when in the rough draft of a circular letter for a voluntary contribution in aid of the Queen of Bohemia, an object of popular regard, the Ministers had contrived to sweeten it by an allusion to a future Parliament, the King struck out the whole passage, and as he was accustomed, assigned his reason in the margin—"I have scored out these eight lines as not judging them fit to pass."*

* It was in 1633. Clarendon's State-papers, i. 57.

Were Charles the First at heart the mere tyrant, which the cries of a party have described him, he would have reigned like other despots: a tyrant ever takes the shortest course. But the King, at least, professed his submission to the laws in consulting the judges, and he now sought for counsel and conduct in the wisdom and energy of others.

The new administration of Charles the First, this "altered form of Government, both in Church and State," lasted during the ten years which intervened between the dissolution of the third Parliament and the assembling of the famous Long Parliament. And what would seem extraordinary, this very period may be designated ten years of national prosperity!

While Europe was convulsed by wars and revolts, our island, to the eye and the imagination of the foreigner, might have seemed the fabled Halcyon, brooding a calm amidst the turbulent waves. A more material and truer image may describe the country as a soil covered with prodigal luxuriance, but drawing the fatal heat from hidden fires; so mighty was the growing activity of the people, so gentle the equable administration of the government.

Clarendon hardly exceeded the truth in his description of the state of the kingdom during

this singular period, as "enjoying the greatest calm and the fullest measure of felicity that any people, in any age, for so long time together have been blessed with." In confirmation of Clarendon's view, we find in the Mercure François more than one allusion to the undisturbed and envied happiness of the English nation. A letter from Rome in 1633, notices the high opinion that court entertained of "the virtues and discreet government of Charles the First, with the general and quiet peace his people enjoy, all Europe being in war,—which makes England enjoy what the rest of the world envies at, they being the only spectators of the rest of the world's miseries."* The description of England in 1633, by a resident foreigner, confirms all these accounts. "It is pleasant to reside in England, where every one lives joyously, without other cares than those of his profession, finding that prosperity in repose which others are compelled to look for in action, and divided as they are from the rest of the world, they take the least concern possible in its distractions."† This sort of evidence from foreign quarters frequently occurs. The King himself has a pathetic passage, where he com-

* Clarendon's State-papers, i. 152 and 182.

† Mercure François, 1633, art. Angleterre.

plains of the famous remonstrance of the Commons,—"Saying before us and publishing to all the world, all the mistakes and all the misfortunes which had happened from our first coming to the crown, forgetting the blessed condition (notwithstanding the unhappy mixture) all our subjects had enjoyed in the benefit of peace and plenty under us, to the envy of Christendom."

These statements seem indisputable; but those who have imagined that the cause of the Parliament would suffer, should this national felicity be acknowledged to have really existed under "the tyrant Charles," have raised objections with the design of depreciating the character of the Monarch, and explaining away, without positively denying the fact, of the general prosperity of the people. It is curious and instructive to detect the difficulties, and to ascertain the success of these historians.

May, the Parliamentary historian, without contradicting the statement of Clarendon,—of which, indeed, he could have had no knowledge—would limit "this greatest calm and this fullest measure of felicity," to those classes by whom "the pressures of the Government were not much felt, and who enjoyed their own

* Husband's Collections, 528.

plentiful fortunes, with little, or insensible detriment, in the undisturbed peace of the nation." But the parliamentarian insinuates some prevalent unhappiness, for "while the kingdom abounded with wealth, plenty, and all kinds of elegancies, more than ever, that part of the nation who were sensible of their birthrights, and the true interests of the kingdom, would argue for their own rights, and those oppressions that were laid upon them." "Arguers for their own rights" are wanting in a government at no period; as for "the oppressors," were they general, or were they particular? The vague style of the candid parliamentary historian was seasoned to the relish of his masters, though no one more than this elegant poet could sympathise with the perished elegancies of the vanished Court, and the peaceful tranquillity of a reign of ten years. We cannot forget, however temperate be "the history of the Parliament," that the historian himself had enjoyed the smiles and favours of Charles the First, who loved poets; but it seems that May had experienced a disappointment at Court, by a preference the Queen had bestowed on Sir William Davenant, in the choice of her Laureat. Angried at the loss of a pension which he had counted on, and the

success of a rival, whom he would not value—he buried the gratitude of the past in the Secretaryship of the Parliament.

The passage from May, Mr. Hallam has quoted as a reply to Clarendon, by "a sort of prophetical inspiration." But we shall discover by Mr. Hallam himself the partial view which May has taken, and by Mr. Hallam himself we shall confirm, even the florid description of the noble writer. But first listen to Mr. Brodie, who labours through a long note, to detract from the eulogy which the philosophic Hume has dared to pronounce on the Monarch's government during the disuse of Parliaments. Mr. Brodie insinuates several instances of personal severity—one merchant imprisoned for refusing to pay his duties; some country gentlemen fined for not accepting a knighthood, for which they cared not; illegal proclamations against fuller's-earth, and the nobility and gentry, residing "in town,"—till the pathos of oppression reaches to the sufferings of "sixteen soap-boilers!" Mr. Brodie even imagines that Hume would have pondered on his cases, and have listened to his arguments; for he tells us how the great sceptic and sophist would have replied to him, by insisting that these "sixteen soap-boilers," being prosecuted

at once, formed but "one case!" Too scrupulous accuracy! too candid confession! May I say, that such insulated instances, betray more of the cavils of a Lawyer, than of the genius of an Historian? The evils of the unpopular measures of Charles are obvious; but Mr. Brodie reasons on effects, as if they had been causes. Mr. Hallam is more just, and more philosophical; he affords us a splendid picture of "the remarkable prosperity and affluence into which the kingdom had grown during this period." The people, however, Mr. Hallam tells us, did not owe their happiness to the King's administration; but to something, in which Charles the First could have no concern whatever. It was "to their own spirit and industry, to the laws, which, as between man and man, were still fairly administered; to the opening of fresh channels of trade, and above all, to the long tranquillity of the kingdom." And he closes his own grand picture, which emulates in the richness of its colouring, and the greatness of its incidents, the picture which Clarendon himself had painted; and for which the noble historian stands rebuked, by the unjust corrective of a party feeling—that "it would have been an excess of loyal stupidity in the nation, to have attributed their riches to

the wisdom or virtue of the Government which had injured the freedom of trade by monopolies, &c."—" As if freedom of trade and monopolies" were the merits or faults of the Sovereign in the age of Charles the First, who practised what his predecessors had been accustomed to practise, what every nation in Europe was practising, and what some to this day retain. It were more just to infer, that were Charles the First " a tyrant," a nation's gratitude was due to the tyrant who had left them, independent of his tyranny, such a prodigality of national prosperity, and equal laws between man and man.

Thus have some of our historical writers, biassed against this unhappy Monarch, attempted to cast a shade over ten years of national felicity. This period only wanted a friendly Parliament to have been the most glorious in our annals—by the cultivation of those arts of peace which Charles loved.

The case of this unparliamentary administration, we must confess, was sufficiently perplexing for these writers to determine on, for it was during this period of national prosperity, that many extraordinary severities were inflicted on certain individuals,* but we shall find

* Leighton, Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton.

that these were not for political crimes. They sprang out of the age, the Sovereign himself had no concern in them, nor was the King implicated in these prosecutions even by the sufferers themselves.

So paradoxical was the position into which the Sovereign had now placed himself, that while the English people were in this flourishing state, the Monarch appeared to be swayed by the most arbitrary councils. But the solution of this political enigma is not difficult, if we cast aside the vulgar prejudices of the innate tyranny of Charles the First. The King, in truth, was equitable and zealous, anxiously devoting his hours to his numerous official duties; he was desirous of the prosperity of his people, for his own could not be separated from theirs; on their strength, and in their independence, he looked to take his station among the monarchs of Europe, resolved to maintain the nation's eminence with the foreigner.

It is when we consider the character and the results of these ten years of his reign, that we find the political enigma solved. Charles the First exercised strong measures and a weak government, which must necessarily subvert each other.

CHAPTER IV.

THE FIRST POLITICAL APOSTATES. SIR T. WENTWORTH.—NOY, THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

ONE of the infelicities of this Monarch was the mediocrity of the men about him; there was no master-genius among the Ministers of Charles the First. No Burleigh ruled the councils, no Bacon illumined the law, no Drake commanded our fleets. The privy-council was composed of persons who themselves were less able than their master to hold the helm of a troubled state; and what still reduced this weakness, the cabinet was divided by two opposite interests, that of the French and the Spanish; if sometimes from patriotic motives, more frequently from the personal views of pensioners of Spain.

The secretaries of state, even under his father, were remarkable for their incapacity, and,

what is less pardonable, for their negligence.* The inept Lord Conway had been a military man, and could rarely write a letter which did not leave his correspondent in utter perplexity. We have on one occasion his after-apologies, by way of explanation, when he seemed to be more surprised at his own confusion of ideas, than at the misconception of his correspondent. Secretary John Coke lingered in office till he verged on his eightieth year, and gave no indications of his retirement, till the King, with kindness, hinted at a relief to his old age; he was an honest man, but the harness of routine had rusted on his back. Having to lead on the King's side in the Commons, this mere man of office was often sadly put to it for a reply on an emergency. When Mr. Brodie criticises Lord Strafford for his coarse familiarity of style in alluding to "Old Ned Coke,"†

* The Earl of Northumberland writing to the Earl of Leicester, observes, "It is a shame that the secretaries are so negligent in advertising you of all that passeth; but till, among many other reformations, the King be served by abler men in those places, I know not how the fault will be remedied, only you should take notice of it, and then it would for ever make them your enemies."—Sidney Papers.

† In fact, there is no coarseness in these familiar appellatives according to the style practised at that day. The King himself called his companions Dick, Will, &c. and so

whom, indeed, he had often trusted and employed, he did not recollect that the Earl of Northumberland, in giving an account of Coke's resignation, designates the superannuated secretary as "the Old Noddy;" and even the grave Clarendon, alluding to the political sacrifice of Coke, adds, "for whom nobody cared:" so fatal is it to be an octogenarian Secretary of State! The successor of Coke, Sir Henry Vane, who, whether from treachery or carelessness, acted a conspicuous part to the great injury of his master's affairs, was so conscious of his own unfitness to discharge the duties of his office, that he used to say, "he verily believed the Marquis of Hamilton, who was no friend of his, had recommended him to be Secretary of State, to expose him to censure and ridicule." Sir Francis Windebank, a creature of Laud, was suddenly raised to the secretaryship, without passing through those gradations of office which form the school of diplomacy. Servilely submissive to his master, this pensioner of Spain was at the same time with Lord Cottington, betraying the Royal councils to the Roman Catholic parties. When the civil wars broke out, and Windebank offered to return from

do the most elegant personages; the practice was continued through the reign of Charles II.

France, where he had flown from the Parliament, Charles could never be persuaded to receive again the faithless secretary.

The other courtiers consisted of the silken creatures who flourish in the splendour, or fade in the decay of courts. Solely engaged in the petty interests of their own coteries, they are discriminated by Clarendon as "occupied in accommodating their fortunes in which they abounded not, or in their ease and pleasure which they most passionately affected, having no other consideration of the public than that no disturbance might interrupt their quiet in their own day." Among these courtiers there were indeed a few, continues the noble writer, "who had larger hearts, and more public spirits." These, however, would rest satisfied "to secure the empire at home by all peaceable arts and advancement of trade, which might gratify the people, and fill the empty coffers of the impoverished crown."

One of the earliest measures which the King adopted when he had decided to reign without a Parliament,—unhappily for the sovereign and the people he could not reign with one,—had not been heretofore practised by his royal predecessors,—it was to win over the popular leaders of the Parliament by admitting them into his

councils. On this apparent concession on the Monarch's side, our philosophical historian has acutely observed, that "it was a sure proof that a secret revolution had happened in the constitution, and had necessitated the Prince to adopt new maxims of government."*

No intricate intrigues on one side, no repulsive embarrassments on the other, appear to have arisen, in inducing the opposition party to step out of their ranks, and to fix themselves in place and power. And we may farther observe, that at a later and more critical period, when the King contemplated repeating the same measure, the resistance was as feeble by even a more sturdy race of Patriots. Lord Say and Sele, who, with Lord Brooke and others, had decided to emigrate to America, when he had terrified the courtier Cottington to resign the Mastership of the Wards in his favour, became the servant of the King; and this Lord, who was not the most compliant of men, when in office appears to have so far courted the King's attention, that Charles implicitly trusted to his counsels. St. John, the dark-browed and sullen St. John, Commonwealth's-man as he was, deigned to accept the

* Hume, vi. 286.

Solicitorship, and all that can be urged in his favour is, that he was a traitor to his Sovereign; for in violation of his official oath, this Solicitor-General, when in office, assisted the Commons to their utmost desire, with remonstrances, and petitions, and propositions against his master. The complete formation of this administration was interrupted by the death of the Earl of Bedford; but Holles was to have been Secretary of State; Pym had consented to be appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer, which we may discover in a speech poured out in the hour of expectation, prodigal of promises to render the King more powerful and glorious than ever Monarch had been; and Hampden was to have illuminated with his genius this new order of government, in the anomalous character of Preceptor of the Prince of Wales. But this new system of taking off the popular leaders by preferment had its inconvenience; the King lost his confidential servants in acquiring these new ones — and favours thus conceded multiplied claimants. Many were gaping for preferments which they could not obtain, and though some of these loud-tongued Patriots at first, we are told, were but hypocritical republicans, their disappoint-

ments would not ill-fit them to become staunch anti-Monarchists.* After these great names had strengthened the Ministry of Charles, a host of vociferous Patriots of the secondary class would not have abated their rage, and probably had improved their talents. Such would have been the Haselriggs, the Strodes, the Coritons.

In the earliest attempt of Charles to abstract some of the great leaders from the popular party, the King, except in the single instance of Wentworth, acquired no additional strength to his Government. The current of the Opposition had too great a depth to be diverted from its course by the sliding off of a few place-hunters, who, with cautious reserve, had only made a show of resistance in their courtly hostility. Such, among others, was Sir Dudley Digges; the rhetorical gentleman, who apologising for the country plainness of his style, had ransacked heaven and earth to paint the mystical elements of the English constitution,† but all the while he had been only flourishing a foil, careful to hit with its guarded point. After these plunges in air Sir Dudley sate down a quiet Master of the Rolls. Saville of

* Sir Edmund Walker's Observations on Hamon L'Estrange, p. 328.

† I have noticed in vol. i. p. 324, the speech of Sir Dudley.

Yorkshire, the rival of Wentworth, who was acting with the Court, till provoked by the ascendency of Wentworth, he passed over to the Opposition; by his double-dealing with the King and the Scots, proved himself a political traitor, yet he was admitted into the Privy-council, was attached to the royal household by the office of Comptroller, and finally created Lord Saville. The Earl of Northumberland, of whom we shall hereafter give a fuller history, was ever averse to the friendship which Charles proffered him, and even censured the Earl of Bedford for his noble attempt to conciliate parties, as one "gained over by the King" at the very moment he was himself in office. As Lord High-Admiral, the fleets of England under him were inactive; and when the Earl was appointed to the command of the army, he was more than once absent from sudden indisposition. When at length he surrendered the fleet to the Parliament, and thus abandoned his Royal Master, though he would not act against him, Charles with tender regret observed, "I have courted him as a mistress, I have conversed with him as a friend." The Earl of Leicester had been created Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, as a person agreeable to the Parliament, and he was so honourable a

man, that it rendered him equally indecisive and indifferent; concurring with the Parliament, yet never disloyal to the Sovereign.

These sudden defections, at two different periods, have always proved a sore point with those who will allow of nothing short of immaculate patriotism among the parliamentary leaders. Oldmixon has the impudence, not unusual with him, to doubt the whole history of the designed administration of the Earl of Bedford with others, who had given as a pledge to save Strafford. This intemperate partisan exclaims—"Such unnatural changes may happen with your Wentworths, your Noys, Savilles, and Digbys, but not with gentlemen of solid principles and virtues." Oldmixon could not deny that the first race of Patriots had gone over to the Court, since they were actually in office; but as the proposed administration of the Earl of Bedford had not taken place, he contrived to insinuate that it was doubtful whether the party had ever consented to be the Ministers of Charles: but this is as certain as that they had made promises to the King, which went far beyond the limits of that severe patriotism which their names inspire. To these practices of the Opposition the King himself evidently alludes—his reproaches are precise.

"Themselves know what overtures have been made by them, and with what importunity, for offices and preferments, what great services should have been done for us, and what other undertakings were (even to have saved the life of the Earl of Strafford) if we would confer such offices on them." * Will any future Oldmixon venture to suggest that the King could have given to the people this particular declaration without the most certain evidence? Clarendon has even furnished the details of the whole design, and pointed out the places the respective parties were to occupy.

Mrs. Macaulay has given a more ingenious turn to this painful topic of compromising patriotism. As we are quite ignorant of the cause which made the King desist from his original intention, the female historian is at no loss to discover this piece of unrevealed history, —and we have it thus. "The incorruptible virtue which was found in these men, put a stop to most of the intended promotions; Charles, finding that instead of acquiring partisans, he should be surrounded by troublesome monitors, if the intended change took place, let the design drop. It is thought that the leaders became more personally exasperated against him;

* Husband's Collections, 534.

but there are no grounds for this supposition:" nor certainly any for this entire statement, which includes two pieces of secret history. Mrs. Macaulay informs us of the motive of Charles in not carrying on the projected Administration; and also assures us, that those who had accepted places, and might now consider themselves as dismissed ministers, were not at all offended. So placable were these enraged Patriots! In this manner is party-history composed: the warped suggestions of the writer are perpetually supplying the absence of all real knowledge. She tells us farther, as an excuse for place-hunting, that the Patriots, in entering into office, had decided to oppose the Court with the same vigour and firmness as before; which, she says, was the case with St. John, who, to do him but justice, did all man could do to betray and ruin his royal master. We must, therefore, infer, that these Patriots in place, expected to render opposition to the King more agreeable to him in their characters of confidential servants, than those of his open adversaries. We think we form a juster notion of the sagacity of these able men, in not supposing that they could hope to retain power by a systematic hostility to him from whom they received it. If they

meditated an incessant opposition to the King, their seats in Parliament had been a fitter place than the Privy Council. The higher motive which influenced these patriots to accept of the highest places, the principal offices of State, we know not; the more ordinary one we do know.

Mr. Brodie, alluding to this remarkable defection of the patriotic party, satisfies himself with reasons to show, that it could never have succeeded according to the royal expectation, which, Mr. Brodie says, was intended for a coalition with Strafford. Incredible assertion! Charles, to have saved the life of Strafford, was ready to comply with any terms, even with banishment: and, however he hurt the dignity of the Earl, the King solemnly proposed that "The Earl should be incapacitated by Parliament to serve even as a constable."* Mr. Brodie then moralizes on the little use of employing popular men, when they turn apostates, as they at that very instant lose their charac-

* Mr. Hallam, with his usual candour when he touches on the King's character, agrees with this. "It was a main object with the King to save the life of Strafford; entirely, as I am inclined to believe, from motives of conscience and honour, without any views of ever again restoring him to power." i. 560.

ters. The morality is good, the reasoning is sound, but they have only served to turn aside our attention from the subject itself. Were these patriots apostates, or were they not? Did they not accept conditions and compromises? If some of them have escaped from incurring Mr. Brodie's denunciation against apostates, it must be confessed, that it was owing to their good fortune, in the King's declining their services.

The great man who first forsook the Opposition, was Sir Thomas Wentworth. Wentworth appeared an independent Country Gentleman: but he had always kept up a close intercourse with the Court at the close of James's reign; nor did he neglect his friends in office in the early part of Charles's. His letters touch playfully on political topics when dated from "Wentworth Wood-house," where, as he says, "his objects and thoughts are limited in looking upon a tulip, hearing a bird sing, a rivulet murmuring, or some such petty and innocent pastime." Innocent truly, when writing to his friend Sir George Calvert, principal Secretary of State. He laughs at "his cousin Wandesford, as being a Statist.* Here I

* A politician; a person who concerns himself with State affairs.

have matters of other guess stuff to relate: that our harvest is all in; a most fine season to make fish-ponds; our plums all gone and past; quinces and grapes almost fully ripe, which will, I trow, hold better relish with a Thistleworth palate, (alluding to Calvert's residence,) and approve me to have the skill to serve every man in his right cue. These only we countrymen muse of, hoping in such harmless retirements for a just defence from the higher powers, and possessing ourselves in contentment, pray with Dryope in the poet:—

> 'Et siqua est pietas, ab acutæ vulnere falcis
> Et pecoris morsu frondes defendite nostras.'"

But our rural statesman, (for at bottom we shall find him one,) was not so intently busied in healing the sharp wound of the shears, and in defending his hedges from the bite of the sheep, as not to threaten his courtly friend the Secretary of State, with saving subsidies from the grasp of their royal master, when "such unruly fellows meet in Parliament." "You think we see nothing; but believe it, you shall find us legislators no fools, albeit, you of the Court think to blear our eyes with your sweet balls, and leave us in the suds when you have done. Thus much for the Commonweal!" So

airy a politician, between jest and earnest, was hardly to be dreaded as the most stubborn of patriots: and when "the swain Wentworth" acknowledged that "he had leisure to pry saucily out of his own calling into the mysteries of State," he assigns a sufficient reason—being "the true effects of want of employment."

In the early part of Charles's reign, Wentworth had not enjoyed the royal favour; for he had been imprisoned as a Loan-Recusant, had joined the political phalanx, and had been pricked for Sheriff to prevent him taking his seat in Parliament. He had even been removed from an honourable appointment in his county; and, in his speech at a Yorkshire meeting, he insinuates that "the world may well think I knew the way which would have kept my place. I confess, indeed, it had been too dear a purchase." At the very moment he was raising this tone of independence, he addressed a confidential letter to Weston, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as querulous and supplicatory as the High Sheriff had just been bold and public-spirited in presence of the Yorkshire meeting. Here we find no allusions to his "innocent pastimes," and "the sheep which bite his hedges" seem to be loss of place and

unrequited services. Wentworth apprehends the weight of his Majesty's indignation, being put out of all commissions wherein formerly he had served: he is sensible of his misfortunes, resting "infinitely ambitious, much rather to live under the smile than the frown of his Sovereign." He beseeches the Chancellor to take some good opportunity to represent to his Majesty his humble suit, reminding him "of the esteem his late Majesty held him in." In another letter, he declares his readiness to serve the Duke as "an honest man and a gentleman," reminding the Chancellor of an interview with the Duke, to which he had been privy, where his Grace contracted friendship for him, "all former mistakes laid asleep, forgotten." Yet, "for all this," he observes, "I was made Sheriff, and again have been discharged from the poor place of the Custos Rotulorum;—this is the reward of my painful and loyal service." We are curious to know more precisely what Wentworth meant by "all former mistakes laid asleep." Were these "mistakes" the jealousies he felt towards Buckingham, and the votes which he had given in the Commons? It is evident that there was a good deal of political coquetry in the patriotic independence of Sir Thomas Wentworth:

and, as it is said, that in the acorn may be discerned the mighty ramifications of the oak, a political naturalist might have detected in the country Baronet the rudiments of the future branches,—the Lord President of the Council of the North, the Viceroy of Ireland, and the renowned Earl of Strafford. We owe to Mr. Brodie a valuable detection in the history of Strafford: the fierce, patriotic speeches which have been often ascribed to Sir Thomas Wentworth, were, in fact, delivered by a Mr. Thomas Wentworth, member for Oxford, who appears to have been hunted out of that city by the influence of the University, against whom he had raised the townsmen. The dereliction of Sir Thomas Wentworth is not, therefore, so glaring as when the vehement speeches of his relative were ascribed to him. His own speeches in the House were usually moderate. Although he had divided with the Opposition members, he was hardly one of them: he affected to treat contemptuously Sir John Eliot, —for he would suffer no rival,—nor could he find any difficulty in assigning reasons for the desertion of his party. Whenever higher and new interests cross the views of a politician, the faults of his old friends become every day more prominent; and while his delicacy on that side

becomes more and more fastidious, it is remarkable that it grows less and less nice on the side of his new friends. Honours and power, we see, could bend the sternest pride in Strafford; and the flattery of a Court could dissolve even the ruggedest and the most uncourtly nature in the Attorney-general Noy.

This famous Attorney-general of Charles the First, the inventor of ship-money, had distinguished himself among the zealous friends of civil freedom, and had often wrestled with the royal prerogative. An unwearying lawyer, entrenched among statutes and records, a reveller in parliamentary rolls, whose searching curiosity was insatiable, and whose subtile distinctions were perpetually altering the case. When anagrams were in fashion descriptive of the persons, *William Noy* verified his own—

"I moyl in Law."

He had searched with incessant delight for precedents favouring the liberty of the subject; but in this pursuit it seems he had also ferreted out precedents which suited the prerogative. These dark researches among our ancient records had cast a veil of mystery over this oracle of Law—Good or Evil hung on his lips—and it has been alleged, that in the pride of his

recondite erudition, were precedents wanting, Noy would value himself in "making that law which all other men believed not to be so."

The singularity of his manners had attracted as much notice as his eminence at the bar. Noy was a rough humourist; but the blunt cynical spirit which unfitted him to flatter others, had, it seems, the weakness of listening to flattery; he, who disdained to court, had not the greatness of mind which disdains to be courted. The government party extolled him to his face, and to cajole him the more securely, praised him behind his back: the bear licked the honey which he found trickling from rocks. "He was bewitched to become the King's," cried his old associates—"He suffered himself to be made the King's Attorney-general," observes Clarendon.

When the King sent for Noy to confer on him the office of his Attorney-general, there were "many merry tales," says a contemporary letter-writer. Noy, with his habitual churlishness, returned no thanks for the proffered honour, but struck his bargain with his royal client. Declaring that he was now well-clienting when he should be his Majesty's sworn servant in that place, he held it very unfitting to dishonour his Majesty, or the place, so much

as to be called for, and run from bar to bar to gain. fees from other clients, and therefore he would know what wages should be allowed? When a messenger, as was usual, was ordered to attend on the new Attorney-general, Noy could not endure the trusty follower at his heels. This appearance of serving him seemed an espionage; often angrily scowling on the messenger, Noy at length ordered him home, "lest the people," cried the cynic, "who have always seen me walk free and alone, should fancy me a state-prisoner."

Noy, the most profound of lawyers, is an instance that mere knowledge is not true wisdom. If we are struck by the comprehension of his understanding, we may equally be so at the narrowness of his views; ready at cases, most erudite in precedents, and skilful in arguments for his own side, he would observe nothing but law—and passed unobserved the temper of the times. A great lawyer may be but a petty statesman and a smaller patriot.

Noy in fact sanctioned, and even originated the most unpopular measures, devices contrived to cover the odium of taxation. Frequent proclamations harassed the people by new and arbitrary regulations on trivial and domestic concerns; Noy legalized the absurd soap-project,

and contrived the odious tax of ship-money. In times of danger from an invading enemy, our kings had required ships to be furnished by the several ports; but it now appeared to the people, that money was to be levied instead of ships, and inland men, secure in their counties, were to furnish invisible fleets, which only passed through the Exchequer. This expedient was considered by Noy as an unfailing source of revenue, and, as Clarendon has forcibly described it, as "a spring that should have no bottom, and for an everlasting supply." The late advocate for guarding the property of the subject could now only discover whatever referred to the property of the Crown. The affairs of the nation were now to be regulated by two paper books, or slips of notes, which the great lawyer had extracted from the dusty parchments of the Tower; and being a humourist, it is said, they were deposited in an ample pie-crust which his mother had sent him for a Christmas gift. The Apostate of Freedom, in the violent style of the times, was now saluted as "a Papist and an Atheist;" and in the witty libels of that day on his death, which happened within three years of his appointment, for he lived not to witness the calamity he had occasioned, nor to defend his favourite project, papers stuck on posts, announced that

"the Attorney-general's body having been opened, there was found in his head a bundle of proclamations; in his maw, moth-eaten records; and in his belly, a barrel of soap."

Noy was probably himself not insensible to that fluctuation of the moral principle, which too often occurred, when political expedience was strained by him into what he might have deemed political justice; and a rule of government was too often made by him into a rule of law. With at least the honesty of a lawyer, he was as zealous a guardian of the King's cause, as he had ever been to any of his former clients. When he knew his Sovereign personally, and witnessed the royal distresses, we cannot now decide in what degree his place might have warped his patriotism, or his patriotism have melted into sympathy. Fuller, however, has recorded an anecdote of this Attorney-general, which happened in his presence, and which indicates a latent feeling. Noy was at the annual ceremony of weighing the Pix by the Goldsmiths' Company; a solemn custom instituted for trying the standard-weight of gold, as a check on the master of the mint. The Master of the Company observed that the scales were so perfectly true, that they would turn with the two hundredth part of a grain. "I would not that my actions should be

weighed in these scales," exclaimed the tender-hearted cynic with his blunt honesty. The morose sagacity of this legal humourist appeared in his curt will which he left in Latin. Having bequeathed his second son a small annual stipend, and a sum in money sufficient, as he said, to bring him up in his father's profession, the residue of his great wealth was left to his eldest son—" to waste, for nothing better have I ever hoped." This son was so rapidly verifying his father's prediction, that he is called in a contemporary letter " the dissipanding Noy ;" but he was prevented completing the prophecy by falling in a mad duel.

Noy, with this perfect conviction of the fate of his idle accumulations of fortune, might have afforded more wisely to have remained a patriot. But Noy was only a lawyer, proud of his legal studies. Equally dexterous on either side, it was not the cause he advocated which he cared for, but the authorities and precedents, the Rolls and the Records, which maintained it, and in which he gloried. His rough humour only concealed the strong personal vanity of the man, and when the subtile courtiers submitted to cajole the pride of the uncourtly man, could the cynic be sensible of his own inferiority ?

CHAPTER V.

OF THE NEW MINISTERS.—LAUD.

AMONG the members of the new Cabinet, there were three Ministers, who seemed to Charles to possess the rare talent of government. In their individual counsels he sought for that practical wisdom, which under his own eye, was to strengthen his feeble and irregular conduct. To Strafford he consigned the difficult government of Ireland; to Laud the administration and maintenance of the Church; and to the Marquis of Hamilton the secret conduct of the affairs of his turbulent countrymen. It is remarkable of the Monarch and his three Ministers, that they all suffered on the scaffold.

In the choice of these Ministers, an unity in the design of the Monarch is obvious. His policy was to reign by the emulative zeal of men elevated into power only secondary to his own, and who had each a distinct object to ac-

complish in their scheme of government. The Archbishop, and the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, were not ordinary courtiers, they were both earnest and laboriously active. Laud, for his principle, offered an universal conformity to the ecclesiastical discipline; Strafford, an undisputed obedience to the civil power. Laud, in prosecuting "Schismatics," and listening to the accommodators of Romanism with Protestantism, contemplated establishing unity by uniformity. Strafford seems to have flattered himself that he could gradually bring Ireland to a conformity of religion with England;* and he felt the consciousness of genius in the ability of his own administration. These Ministers of State attempted, as other Statesmen have done, to restrain or abolish, a rival mino-

* The passage is remarkable: in a letter of Strafford to the King, i. 367, he calls it "far the greatest service that can be done unto your crown on this side—to make us an happy and secure people within ourselves;"—but there was some mystery in the mode. "Many things will fall continually in debate at the Board, with which it will be very unfit any of the contrary religion (the Catholics) be acquainted." Did Strafford foresee invincible difficulties, while he boldly attempted to face them? Catholic emancipation has been our sole drastic measure; but in Charles's day it would have occasioned the death of the Prescriber, rather than the Patient.

rity in the State; neither seemed to be aware that the same spirit which had raised up the Reformation, so closely connected with civil freedom, would act against those who ceased to be reformers when they assumed the character of persecutors, making the separation still more wide, and driving desperate men to the martyrdoms of infamous punishments, or cruel exiles. But we must not so hastily condemn Laud, who was not a genius above his age, since Lord Bacon considered that uniformity in religion was absolutely necessary; and though we may smile at Laud's attempt at reconciling the two great churches, yet a man of far more elevated genius, the illustrious Grotius, meditated the same result, and for the first step towards reconciling this ancient family quarrel, zealously laboured to prove that the Pope was not the Anti-Christ; for which Bishop Hurd, and other good Protestants, express their astonishment, and persist in expounding the Apocalypse.

As early as the dissolution of the last Parliament, Leighton, who afterwards so severely suffered, indicated the purposes of the two great Ministers, who, studious of each other, accorded in their councils, and moved together in their acts. Of these Ministers, the Puritan Leighton observed that "They were on the

way of a dangerous conjunction; the ill effects these three kingdoms had felt, like the sun and the moon to govern day and night, religion and state."

This then was to be "the new councils," and "the intended alteration both in church and state," which had spread an alarm among the numerous parties which were now forming against the government. Much depended on the characters of the Ministers. The system itself seemed wise and laudable; but whether the result was to produce that universal conformity which will always be the secret desire of every Statesman, or whether "this sun and moon in their dangerous conjunction" were to cover the land with the darkness of despotic power, could only be read in the Book of Fate. On one side the Star Chamber, ever open to uphold the Royal prerogative, was invested with a vigour beyond the laws; on the other, the High Commission Court, to quell the hydra of schism, with a power beyond human nature. Awful expedient of a barbarous government to rule a barbarous people; but Charles found them, he did not raise them. We might here ask, had Charles the First, when he formed this design of strengthening the Church and the State, decided to render himself absolute?

Did he consider that his prerogative consisted in arbitrary power? If he were the tyrant he is artfully represented to have been, he certainly did. He himself, however, professed to govern by the laws, and consulted their oracles. Unhappily for this Monarch, he reigned at a period when the nicest points of prerogative and privilege came into collision; when much which was established, was about to be subverted; and he who could have ruled his people in peace, had to encounter them in insurrection.

Early in his reign, the King had contemplated on the elevation of the temporal power of the National Church. The hierarchy was an arm of the regal power, and the curt axiom of his father, against the anti-prelatists of "no Bishop, no King!" was an authority too often referred to by Doctors of Divinity, in the last pressure of argument. So early in the present period was found that strict "alliance between Church and State," which Hooker, the favourite author of Charles, had assumed to be but different denominations of the same society. A theory which Warburton denied by striking out one of those paradoxes which are even weaker than the theory they confute.

Charles had scarcely ascended the throne, when one day he suddenly summoned the

Bishops, and, as Laud has told us, chid them for their silence in the cause of the church, during the sitting of Parliament, leaving him at a loss to know what would be useful or prejudicial to them. Such a reprimand was sufficient to excite some activity even among the listless, and a more stirring spirit among the ambitious.

Churchmen were now appointed to Lay-offices. Laud himself sate among the Commissioners of the Exchequer on the demise of the Lord Treasurer Weston, the Earl of Portland, in a committee of Trade and Revenue. The closet studies of the Bishop were ill-fitted to the Customs; he kept cautiously and pertinaciously to the laws, but there are occasions which require new laws, and which render the old ones obsolete. There were merchants on one side, and wharfingers on the other, divided by opposite interests: the only satisfaction Laud appears to have found, was the many complaints they furnished him with of the late Lord Treasurer Weston, whom he disliked.

At length, when it became necessary to dispose of the office of Lord High Treasurer, to which the highest of the nobility looked as their meed of honour and power, and by which, through the last and the present reign, they

had usually improved their own estates, more than the Royal treasury; all men were amazed that the staff was consigned to another churchman, Bishop Juxon, a private chaplain of the King, and a name hitherto unknown to the public. This arrangement entered into the system of Laud, it was a splendid evidence of his zeal for the Church, and a confirmation of his own power. The entry in his diary records the triumph. "William Juxon, Lord Bishop of London, made Lord High Treasurer of England. No churchman had it since Henry the Seventh's time. I pray God bless him to carry it so that the Church may have honour, and the King and the State, service and contentment by it. And now, if the Church will not hold up themselves under God, I can do no more."

In all this the integrity of Laud need not be suspected, for Bishop Juxon justified his sanguine hopes. So irreproachable was the life of Juxon, that after having attended on the last moments of his unhappy Sovereign, who then so emphatically distinguished him as "the honest man," he lived unmolested through all the changes of the governments of England. When the Church was unbishoped, one Bishop was left whom the anti-prelatists could not

bring themselves to hate: Juxon had held the crosier and the white staff with the same equanimity; and the honours which he had never sought, he had yielded up with the same content of mind and gentleness of manners, with which he had worn them. Whitelocke, noticing his favourite recreation, tells us that "his pack of hounds exceeded all others in England for their orderly and pleasant going in couples, by his own skill and direction," and characterizes the Bishop's temper with happy pleasantry, for having "as much command of himself as of his hounds."*

But the policy of promoting Churchmen to the most eminent places of public trust and

* It is amusing to detect party-writers disingenuously eluding any point which they conceive may injure their purpose. Dr. Z. Grey, in his notes on Neal, probably from some vulgar prejudice, thought that *hunting* was no favourable characteristic of the Episcopal character; and, having to refer to Whitelocke's impartial statement for the Bishop's excellent temper, he contrived an expedient, thus quoting the words of Whitelocke, "Juxon was a person of great parts and temper, and had much command of himself, &c." This &c. includes the whole pack of hounds! Dr. Grey might have left to some Puritan his fanatical conceit. The healthful exercise which the Bishop practised, is one of those indifferent actions which stand unconnected with morality, and should no more be deprecated than a Bishop's morning ride.

honour was fatal. Were we to become "a Kingdom of Priests?" It inflated the temporal pride of the Prelacy, and fed their grosser appetite of political ambition. An ill-natured rumour of the day made Wren, Bishop of Norwich, a Secretary of State; and Bancroft, Bishop of Oxford, Chancellor of the Exchequer. Even "the young fry of the Clergy," the frivolous and the mean, grew haughty to their neighbours when generally chosen as Justices of the Peace. Bishop Wren once let fall an unguarded declaration, which was so frequently repeated, that having been noticed in the House of Commons, it has entered into history. This Ecclesiastic "hoped to see the day when a Clergyman should be as good a man as any upstart Jack-gentleman in the kingdom." Bishop Wren lived long enough to witness "the upstart Jacks," those commoners whose wealth had spread their influence, and whose puritanic principles were opposed to episcopacy, tread down that hierarchy, while he himself condemned to an imprisonment of eighteen years by the "Jack-gentlemen," lived long enough not to be humbled, but to repent of a hasty and undisguised expression.

This advancement of the ecclesiastics was never forgiven by the affronted nobility, nor

even by the jealous lawyers: the lawyer Whitelocke is sore, and the courtier Clarendon murmurs. The Parliamentary historian has preserved the prevalent feeling in the report of that day, that it was intended "to fix the greatest temporal preferments upon others of that coat; insomuch as the people merrily, when they saw the Treasurer with the other Bishops riding to Westminster, called it the Church triumphant. Doctors and parsons of parishes were made everywhere Justices of Peace." May candidly observes, that "the Archbishop by the same means which he used to preserve his clergy from contempt, exposed them to envy, and as the wisest could then prophesy, to a more than probability of losing all." *

The leviathan of the church was to be Laud. Laud had no gifted mind: his capacity was not extensive, but his confined intellect was quickened by subtilty, and restless in its irritable activity. If unequal to take far and comprehensive views, his perception of the objects near to him had a vividness which looked like genius; but in truth, he saw only distinctly by parts. This faculty, however, enabled him to rebut the minute and harass-

* May's History of the Parliament of England, p. 33.

ing charges brought against him, on that day which may emphatically be called his trial. These vexatious charges, Laud generally answered with astonishing promptitude, so retentive was his memory of obscure transactions and petty personalities, years after they had occurred. A loftier genius, embracing more enlarged designs, could hardly have treasured up such incidents, or remembered such persons; but to Laud, the minute seemed great. An obscure person who had controverted a point of Church-discipline—a Sectarian minister who had been suspended—or the occasion of a person's dislike of him, which was often shown by their ill-natured evidence, were never forgotten. Even the names of some country residents were recollected who had been censured for quarrels with churchwardens, or for contemptuous language, as when a Puritan had said that "the rails," which were ordered to inclose the communion-table, "were fitter to be set up in his garden." When very obscure persons were giving evidence concerning certain houses which had been pulled down to repair and enlarge St. Paul's, which, though compensation was allowed, was alleged as one of the grievances of his administration, who could have imagined that the Archbishop was

perfectly familiar with their domestic history? Of these complainants Laud showed how one was sore because it had disturbed his brewery; and the other, because he had rented the parsonage-house, and made a good pennyworth by letting it to his under-tenant.—"It was," said Laud, "the going down of that house which troubled him, and not the church." Even notes taken from an inflammatory sermon were all remembered by him in the seventy-second year of his age, after a three years' imprisonment, as the business of yesterday. If the intellect of Laud was neither expansive nor elevated, it was earnest, ready, and practical, above most minds.

A mind thus deeply busied in the minuter affairs of life was necessarily subjected to its peculiar infirmities. Laud was petulant, passionate, and impatient of contradiction on whatever thwarted his purposes; as restless to establish his own innovations as to put down those of others. The political prescience of James the First had early discovered his character, and what this Monarch said of Laud, which has fortunately been preserved for us, is only one of the many splendid instances of the sagacity of that Monarch, whose ability has been so grossly depreciated.

Laud, in his domestic manners, had the bluntness and hastiness of a monastic character. Abrupt in his reception of persons, and remarkably sharp in his tones, he was often considered to speak in anger, when nothing was so intended: he owned this often troubled him; it was the imperfection of a thin voice, and a want of courtesy, which he was often reminded of by those who complained of their reception, and resented it. The austere monastic character was prevalent. He was one who had little sympathy with his fellow-men when he quitted his cell, and although he congratulated himself in the sad years of his protracted sufferings, that he had lived a life of celibacy, and left neither wife nor child to inherit his griefs, yet wanting these, or their substitute in some ardent friendships to keep alive the social affections, with Laud all personal felicity terminated in barren glory and abstract feelings, to raise the grandeur of the hierarchy, or to endow a college; passions which may gratify the imagination without touching the heart.

Mr. Hallam has severely said of Laud, that "he could not have been a good man in private life." This cannot well be said of a man whose sole passion was his ambition, and whose personal character was unstained by any vice. To

be an amiable man was denied him, both by his habits and his constitutional temper; his petulance was sure to offend, and his impatience of contradiction unfitted him either for the council-table or the chambers of domestic life. It is evident, even by the favourable portrait which Clarendon has drawn of the Archbishop, that men of another cast of mind, the witty and politic, such as the wily Bishop Williams, and the cool dissimulative Cottington, too often played on the simplicity of Laud. His gravity could endure no *persiflage*. Laud cruelly persecuted Williams for a contemptuous jest, and turned out Archy, the King's fool, for a pun. Lord Cottington delighted to prick his warm temper into "some indecent passion;" when Laud, equally honest and weak, would apologise with an afflicting sincerity, while he who had so artfully offended laughed in his sleeve. Cottington, we are told, often made "an unkind use" of these occasions. He knew how to lead on Laud into some blunder, then drive him into choler, and then slyly expose the artless and hasty man—often before the King; and on the next day he would dine with Laud, whose honest simplicity admired the friendship which would not be offended by some hasty words. Laud appears never

to have detected the insidious malice which, instead of receiving an apology, should have offered one.*

A worldly ambition was the ruling passion of this man of God, more than ought to have entered into the sanctuary of the soul, where piety should shine as the Shechinah. The passion of court preferment for many years had haunted his very dreams, and had plunged him into all its mean servilities; but the pride of rank was attended by one of its peculiar infirmities. Laud was often violently discomposed at being reminded of his plebeian origin. This forcibly indicates his contracted spirit. The Puritans, with whom the humble origin of the Primate, who "was not born a gentleman," should have been no objection, would sometimes put this weakness to the torture, more sure to mortify the Prelate, by asserting that he was born *E fæce plebis*, than by all their other libels. He seems to have sought to throw over the obscurity of his family a veil of tissue, by the state and distance which he

* At the close of Lord Clarendon's first book, is a remarkable instance of this malicious *persiflage*, or what we now call quizzing, played upon Laud by Cottington. The occasion was as honourable to Laud's integrity as it proved unfavourable to his discernment.

rigidly kept with all persons. When Mr. Hyde, then a young man, in confidential conversation, touched on this delicate point, Laud frankly replied that he considered this reserve and dignity suitable to the place and degree he held in the Church and the State. Doubtless it was some satisfaction for him to allege, that Abbot, the puritanic Archbishop, was not better born than himself; and Abbot's behaviour to the highest nobility in the kingdom, was such as to border on insolence.* Laud stood the colossus of his own cast; and the Court Divines, as mundane as their great model, deceived their patron by the usual practice of all limited circles, communicating what was pleasant to learn, and suppressing what would have been very disagreeable. Such a personage as Laud is doomed to have dependents, and not friends. Mr. Hyde has made a remarkable observation on the Archbishop. "Persons of that condition, [he alludes to the higher order of the clerical,] how worthy soever, have rarely friendships with men above their own condition. They receive, for the most part, their information from clergymen, who understand the least, and take the worst measure of human affairs, of all mankind that can write and read."

* The Life of Lord Clarendon, i. 15.

There is a severity of truth in this reflection, but it is not peculiar to the ecclesiastical character. All men of the learned professions, who live in one restricted circle, are liable to suffer from the same scanty source of human feelings and human knowledge. Their own views and their own habits form their contracted horizon. Had Laud been a great Serjeant, would the lawyer, Mr. Hyde, have applied the same reflection? Probably not: yet there are few great lawyers whose minds are not wholly warped by their habits of thinking, and who do not judge of human nature more by cases and precedents, than by any intimate conversancy with the human heart and with society at large. And thus it is, on the reverse principle, that Physicians have, in all ages, formed the most enlightened class in society, because they mingle with their fellow men.

CHAPTER VI.

PRIVATE LIFE OF CHARLES THE FIRST.

LOVE OF THE ARTS.

THERE was an interval, a short interval, between the dissolution of the third Parliament in 1628, and the rising troubles in Scotland in 1638, when we may describe the King as at peace with himself, as no longer daily harassed by a discontented Parliament, and as yet a stranger to adversities unparalleled in the history of princes. During these ten years, Charles indulged more uninterruptedly a passion for the arts of imagination. Picture, sculpture, architecture, and music, and not less literature, charmed these few happier years. Nor were these tastes a late acquirement with Charles the First: they were no feeble pursuit, taken up as the resource of the idler;—no cold reflected taste, caught up from others. They were the virgin fancies of his studious

days; and when banished from them, in his wanderings, and in the camp or in the prison, they still occupied his musings.

Many evidences of such recollections still exist. I have seen a written order by Charles the First, when in confinement in the Isle of Wight, addressed to the learned Patrick Young, his librarian, about the books at St. James's, and to the great antiquary, Sir Symonds D'Ewes, the keeper of his medals, concerning their respective objects; so intent was his elegant mind on those treasures of literature and art, of which being deprived, he accounted these deprivations not among the least of the many he now endured. Mr. Upcott has also a note of Charles to Secretary Nicholas, at the time the King was with the Scots, in which he orders certain volumes to be sent to him, and points out their particular situation in one of his apartments at Whitehall.

The domestic habits of this Sovereign seem ennobled by their intellectual refinement. Ingenious himself in all the arts of ingenuity, his sensibility to art was that of an artist, his critical discernment that of the connoisseur. With some Monarchs, pride or pomp have shed a golden patronage over Art, as over one of their lesser glories: with Charles the First,

the passion was the devotion of a votary, loving Art only for itself. Though avowedly neither a painter nor a poet, he could handle the pencil and compose a verse. He suggested subjects to the two great painters of his age, to his great architect, and to dramatic poets. Secret history only reveals this softening feature in the grave and king-like character of Charles the First. A prince without art and literature is only one of the people on the throne.

Charles the First unquestionably was the first English monarch who opened galleries of paintings and statues; domiciliated the genius of Italian architecture; and in the ardour of his capacious designs, meditated at no distant day, to call around his Throne, what lay scattered in Europe, a world of glory as yet unconquered by his people. To have overcome the difficulties which the efforts of this Prince had to contend with, is not less admirable than the grand object which he did realise, and the still grander ones which he has left to our imagination. Had Whitehall Palace been completed as it was contemplated by Charles the First, and conceived by Inigo Jones, the Louvre and the Escurial would have found in our calumniated island, among "the clouds of the North," a more magnificent rival. The ceiling of the

Banqueting-room, at Whitehall, was painted by Rubens; and it was the intention of Charles that Vandyke should have covered the walls with the history of the order of the Garter, in a friendly emulation with his master. This hall of audience for ambassadors, is stated to be only the fifty-fifth part of this gorgeous palace. But the paintings of Vandyke for the edifice of Inigo Jones exist only in a sketch in chiaro-scuro; by the civil wars the nation lost the glory of the paintings and the palace.

The first collector of the productions of the fine arts in our country, was that Earl of Arundel, whose memorable marbles perpetuate his name. Before his day we cannot discover in England any single gallery of pictures and statues, nor cabinets of medals and engraved gems. A collection of Queen Elizabeth's rarities, exhibited the lowest tastes of elaborate toys and frivolous curiosities. This travelled Earl, who had repeatedly visited the Continent, and more particularly the land of his admiration and his love, Italy, exhausted his wealth and his magnificence in the prodigality of his fine tastes. Of this father of our arts, Walpole tells, that "He was the first who discovered the genius of Inigo Jones; and in his embassy to Vienna, he found Hollar at Prague"—and did

not leave him there! To this Earl, as Peacham has felicitously expressed it, "This angle of the world oweth the first sight of Grecian and Roman statues;" and Lily notices, that "this Earl brought the new way of building with brick in the city." The tastes of the noble collector were caught by the aspiring genius of Prince Henry, who left a considerable collection of medals. Thus the germs of a cultivated taste for the arts were first scattered in the gardens and the galleries of Arundel-house. Charles succeeded to his brother with a more decided propensity, and with a royal decision, that all the arts of invention, or of imagination, should no longer be foreign to England.

We discover Charles when Prince of Wales deeply busied with the arts; and at that early period, he designed inviting great artists to England. Offers of this nature he never ceased to make to those great foreigners whose immortal names still attest that there was no mediocrity in the Royal taste. The history of a manufacture of fine gold and silver tapestry shows this early ardour. This manufacture, introduced into this country by Sir Francis Crane, and established at Mortlake, in Surrey, the young Prince not only patronised, but con-

ceived the idea of improving the splendid material by finer designs. Sir Henry Wotton, our ambassador at Venice, by order of the Prince, procured Cleyne, the painter, to reside in England, for the purpose of inventing the designs. Charles built a residence for the artist, whose subjects, both in history and grotesque, were a great improvement on the rude gothic figures which they had hitherto worked on. Fine and rich tapestries were the most valued of domestic ornaments, and to raise to the utmost perfection the Mortlake tapestry, was so favourite an object with the young Prince, that when at Madrid, amidst love and revels, the Mortlake tapestry was still in his thoughts, for he wrote to his council to pay 700*l.* for some Italian drawings for tapestry. The taste of the youthful patron was rising faster than the genius of Cleyne could advance; for Charles now sought for subjects which were of a higher character of art than the grotesque fancy of Cleyne invented. Rubens was afterwards employed, when Charles was King, in painting sketches of the history of Achilles, to be copied in tapestry at Mortlake, and Charles purchased the seven Cartoons of Raphael for the purpose of supplying more elevated subjects for this

tapestry. It was no fault of Charles the First that we did not anticipate the gobelins of Louis XIV.

It was on the accession to his throne that Charles made the greatest effort for the acquisition of pictures and statues. The sum may seem to us trivial for a royal purchase, yet it was an effort which the King could never repeat. Charles purchased the entire cabinet of the Duke of Mantua for a sum supposed to be under twenty thousand pounds; which, Mr. Dallaway observes, the King found no very easy business to pay. It should, however, be observed, that such noble productions of art had not then reached the large prices which afterwards the possessors—never the artists—could obtain. It was the taste of Charles the First, and the splendour of Philip the Fourth of Spain, which first raised their value in the estimation of Europe. At the dispersion of the collection of paintings of Charles the First, their number amounted to about five hundred pictures, besides many which had been embezzled. When we consider the straitened means of the King, and the short space of fifteen years in which that collection had been formed, we have evidence how earnestly it occupied the Royal attention, and the whole

may be considered as his own creation. The foundation of this royal collection of pictures was a few Italian and Flemish paintings, which, in the days of Henry the Eighth, had been scattered among our palaces, lying unregarded as old furniture, and which, we are told, had received scarcely a single accession in the succeeding reigns. At all times Charles had in his mind his collection, and called the attention of his friends, or his agents, to his aid.* When the Marquis of Hamilton was acting under the King of Sweden, in a campaign in Germany, the King adds this postscript to one of his letters, "I hope shortly you will be in a possibility to perform your promise concerning pictures and statues of Muncken; therefore now in earnest do not forget it."† Nor was the Monarch less careful in their preservation; for when the Queen's great masque was to be performed at Whitehall, Charles ordered a temporary building to be erected for this spectacle at a considerable charge, lest his pictures in the Banqueting-house should be damaged by the lights.‡

* The King was always highly gratified by the present of a painting from his ambassadors.

† Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, 22.

‡ Strafford's Letters, ii. 140.

Charles the First acknowledged that he had learned much by conversation. It is certain that he encouraged a familiar intercourse with travellers, artists, mechanics, and men of science. With such persons he threw off the habitual reserve of his character. The good sense of his inquiries inspired the confidence of communication, and this Monarch rarely left ingenious men, without himself contributing some information on the objects of their own pursuits. Charles could suggest a touch, even a hint, to the unfinished canvass of Rubens and Vandyke. The King himself pursued with delight the arts of design, and it has been recorded that Rubens corrected some of his drawings, and that the King handled, not without skill, the pencil of that great master. The libellous author of "the None-such Charles," notices his general inclination to all arts and sciences; "his excelling so far in them as that he might have got a livelihood by them." Lily contents himself with telling us that Charles was not unskilful in music—the truth is, that his ear and his hand were musical. The King had been taught the Viol di Gamba, and was a pupil of Coperario, or John Cooper; a celebrated English musician, who, on his return from Italy, assumed this fantastic appellative. Playford,

who had frequent opportunities to observe the delight of Charles the First in music, tells us, that the King would often appoint the service and anthems himself, and accompany them, "especially those incomparable fancies of Mr. Coperario to the organ."

Charles could plan a palace with Inigo Jones, and decide on the age of a medal with Selden. Such, indeed, had been his early studies, that a learned man has described him as "that great antiquary Charles the First." The illustrious Harvey, in one of his writings, recounts with singular gratification the delight Charles received from observations made by that great anatomist while dissecting before the King the deer in Hampton-court.* The numerous works which this King suggested to authors, and the critical judgment with which he decided on works of literature, place Charles the First among the most literary monarchs. His critical conceptions were quick; for when Sir Edward Walker was reading his manuscript Memoirs to the King, in recording an incident of the soldiers stripping some of the Parliamentary troopers of their clothes, he had expressed himself with levity. "Our soldiers freed them of the burthen of their clothes." The King

* Gen. Anim. exerc. 64, p. 422.

instantly interrupted the reader, observing, "Fie! that is ill said, and it was worse done!" We know that the King read the manuscript plays, and once corrected a rant which Massinger had put in the mouth of a tyrant against the freedom of his subjects.* The folio Shakespeare of Charles, with the motto he frequently wrote in his books, has at length become the possession of his present Majesty; the King altered some of the titles of the plays; and the motto, *Dum Spiro Spero*, was prompted at moments, perhaps, when the Monarch, in trouble, or in prison, indulged some bright vision. He was fond of leaving these testimonies of his elevated feelings among his books, for another has been noticed—

"Rebus in adversis facile est contemnere vitam;
Fortiter ille facit qui miser esse potest."

"In adversity it is easy to despise life; true courage can suffer misery."

Charles suggested to the poet Shirley the plot of "The Gamesters." May's version of Lucan was received with all the favour of Royalty, a circumstance alluded to by Ben Jonson, by comparing the fate of the English bard with Lucan's—

* Malone, ii. 387.

"Thy fame is equal, happier is thy fate,
Thou hast got Charles's love, he, Nero's hate."

There are some delightful literary anecdotes of Charles. The King had been harassed by the zealot Obadiah Sedgwick repeatedly pressing the King for his opinion on his fanatical "Leaves of the Tree of Life;" a mystical explanation of the second verse of the twenty-second chapter of the Revelations. The King, having read part of the manuscript, returned it, with his opinion, that, "After such a work, he believed the composer stood in some need of sleep." The happy ambiguity of this playful criticism, accepted in the better sense, gratified this Parliamentary preacher. There was some Cervantic humour in Charles's gravity. When pressed by a Parliamentary Commissioner to conclude the treaty, the King ingeniously replied, "Mr. Buckley, if you call this a treaty, consider if it be not like the fray in the comedy, where the man comes out, and says, 'There has been a fray, and no fray;' and being asked how that could be, 'Why,' says he, 'there hath been three blows given, and I had them all!' Look, therefore, if this be not a parallel case." The conversation of Charles, on many occasions, shows that he was a far

superior man than his enemies have chosen to acknowledge. The famous Oceana Harrington, when commissioned by Parliament, attending on the King, his ingenuousness and his literature attracted the King's notice. Harrington was a Republican in principle, and the King and he often warmly disputed on the principles of a good Government. One day Charles recited to him some well-known lines of Claudian, descriptive of the happiness of the Government under a just King. Harrington was struck by the King's abilities, and from that moment never ceased admiring the man whom he had so well known. Charles displayed the same ability at the Treaty of the Isle of Wight, where he conducted the negotiation alone, his lords and gentlemen standing behind his chair in silence. That occasion called forth all his capacity; and it was said, that the Earl of Salisbury, on the Parliament's side, observed, that "The King was wonderfully improved:" to which Sir Philip Warwick replied, "No, my Lord! the King was always the same, but your Lordship has too late discovered it." We cannot doubt that Charles the First possessed a rate of talent and intellectual powers, to which his historians have rarely alluded.

In a conversation on writing plays in rhyme, one party affirming that the bondage of rhyme would confine the fancy, and Lord Orrery being of a contrary opinion, as arbiter, Charles commanded his Lordship to employ some of his leisure in a dramatic composition, in rhyme, which produced "The Black Prince." But it was not only in the lighter graces of poesy that the fine taste of Charles delighted: more serious and elevated objects equally engaged his attention. Charles was desirous that the national history should be composed by a man of genius. He had been pleased with the historical Essay of Lord Bacon's Henry VII. With great judgment he fixed on Sir Henry Wotton for a complete history; and to stimulate that very elegant writer, granted him a munificent pension of five hundred pounds. Charles unquestionably was himself a writer of the history of his own times; and however we may determine on the authenticity of the much disputed *Icon Basilike*, there will be found some portions, and some peculiar expressions, which, it is not probable, perhaps possible, that any one could have written but himself.* Cer-

* Mr. Brodie, who studies at every point to depreciate the better qualities of Charles the First, has been particularly anxious to assert the spuriousness of some writings assigned

tain it is, that the manuscripts of the King were numerous. No Monarch has had his pen so constantly in his hand. During his long confinement at Carisbrooke Castle, his life offers a beautiful picture of the imprisonment of a literary character. The King had his constant hours for writing, and he read much. We have an interesting catalogue of the books he called for during this period. Yet there exist no autographs of Charles, except some letters. This seems to indicate some purposed destruction. We know that the King revised the

to the King. Of the controversy between Charles the First and Alexander Henderson, the head of the Presbyters, respecting Church Government, Mr. Brodie, though he acknowledges that this "so far-farmed production is never read," (for certainly there is no occasion for it;) yet, grudging even the slender merit of Charles, for having produced "a far-famed work never read," he winds up with an insinuation, "whether Charles was really the author of the controversial writings that pass under his name, may well be questioned." iv. 66. That this may never hereafter be questioned, I refer Mr. Brodie to the Lambeth Library, 679, where he will find the MSS. and the first entirely in the hand-writing of the King. Charles was early exercised in these studies. We learn from one of his biographers, that "there was extant in the hands of a worthy person, his extracts, written with his own hand," of arguments from Laud's book against the Jesuit Fisher, and that he was accustomed to epitomise Hooker, and others, on the present subject.

folio Memoirs of Sir Edward Walker, and that he supplied Clarendon, from his own memorials and journals, with two manuscripts, fairly written, on the transactions of the years 1645 and 1646.* What became of these originals, with others, which were seized in the royal cabinet taken at Naseby? If it be true, as it appears, that Charles instigated Clarendon to compose his history, posterity may admire the King's exquisite discernment. There was not another man of genius in the Royal circle, who could have been more happily selected.

Charles appears to have designed that his Court should resemble the literary Court of the Medici. He assembled about him the great masters of their various arts; and while they acquired the good fortune of the royal patronage, and were dignified by his honours, they more largely participated in that sort of affection which the real lovers of art experience for the persons of great artists. We may rate Charles's taste at the supreme degree, by observing, that this Monarch never patronized mediocrity: the artist who was honoured by his regard was ever a master-spirit. Father of

* Clarendon's Life, i. 103, folio. See also the opening of the ninth book of Clarendon's History.

art in our country, Charles seemed ambitious of making English denizens of every man of genius in Europe; and of no monarch have been recorded such frequent instances of the deep personal interest entertained for individuals. Charles, with his own hand, wrote to Albano, to invite that joyous painter of childhood to reside at the Court of England.* When another artist, Torrentius, was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, Charles, in the excess of his admiration for his works, interceded for the wretched man; pleading only for the artist, the rarity and excellence of his works were alone dwelt on by the King. Rubens and Vandyke, with other illustrious names, Charles had made his own; and we cannot read a history of foreign art without meeting with the name of Charles the First,—so closely had his patronage or his kindness connected this Monarch with his contemporary artists in every country.

No royal history opens domestic scenes of equal fascination with those which occurred in the constant intercourse of the grave and stately Charles with his favourite companions, the artists themselves. His conversations with them were familiar and unreserved. In the break-

* Academica Picturæ, p. 282.

fast-room of Charles the First were hung, by his special order, the portraits of his three favourites, Rubens, Mytens, and Vandyke. Vandyke, by the desire of Charles, married an English lady, and resided in England. The King would frequently go by water to the painter's house in Blackfriars to his studio, and often sitting to Vandyke himself, would commission the Queen, his family, and his courtiers, to allow no rest to his facile and unwearied pencil; they delighted to view themselves in the unshadowy splendour of his portraits. A traditional story was floating in the last century, the probability of which seems to authenticate the fact. Vandyke was painting the portrait of Charles the First, while the Monarch was complaining in a low voice to the Duke of Norfolk of the state of his finances. The King perceiving that Vandyke was listening, said to him laughingly, "And you, Sir! do you know what it is to want five or six thousand pounds?" "Yes, Sir," Vandyke replied; "an artist who keeps open house for his friends, and whose purse is always at the command of his mistresses, feels too often the emptiness of his strong-box." In this unreserved manner Charles indulged himself with the artists. Beck, whose facility in composition was extraordinary, was

aptly complimented, by Charles familiarly observing to him, "'Faith, Beck! I believe that you could paint riding post!" It is not wonderful that a Monarch, who so well knew how to maintain his personal dignity, and was even coldly formal in the court circle, should have been tenderly remembered by every man of genius, who had enjoyed the flattering equality of this language of the heart, and this sympathy of companionship. A celebrated performer on the flute, who afterwards became so eminent during the Protectorate, as to be appointed music professor at the University of Oxford, Dr. Thomas Wilson, with equal pride and affection, remembered, that he was often in attendance on Charles, who, in the intensity of his delight, used to lean over his shoulder while he played. Old Nicholas Laniere, who subscribed one of his plates as being "done in my youthful age of 74," was one of those artists, as Lord Orford designates them, "whose various talents were so happy as to suit the taste of Charles the First, musician, painter, and engraver!" Laniere was one of the King's active agents for the selection of works of art, while he himself could add to them. He outlived the persecution of that political period, and shed tears many years

after in the funereal hymn on his royal master, set by himself.

But if it be delightful to view Charles the First indulging the most kindly feelings to artists, it is more so to find that he knew and entered into their wounded feelings, and could even forgive their caprices. The King's earliest "Picturer," as he is styled in the royal warrant, was Daniel Mytens, a Flemish artist, who has left us one of the finest heads of Charles the First in his happier days, ere care and thought had stamped their traces on his majestic countenance. On the arrival of Vandyke, great as was Mytens' reputation and the favour he enjoyed, the artist fancied that his sun had set—his "Occupation had gone!" In a sullen humour, Mytens requested his Majesty's permission to retire to his native home. Charles having learned the cause of this sudden attack of spleen, used the wayward genius with all a brother's tenderness. The King healed the infirmity of genius, assuring the jealous artist, that "He could find sufficient employment both for him and Vandyke." It was no doubt after this, that Charles hung the portrait of his old artist, between the two greatest masters of art; and it is pleasing to record, that the brothers in art, with the Monarch as their com-

mon friend, became brothers in their affections; for Vandyke painted the portrait of Mytens. The King's constant attendance on Rubens when that great painter was in England, the honours he bestowed on him, and the noble offers he made him, are not sufficiently known. This great painter found, and felt in Charles the First, a congenial spirit. Having painted the history of St. George, representing Charles, "wherein, if it be possible, he hath exceeded himself," as a contemporary writes; Rubens would not part with the original, till he had finished a copy for himself, that, as he said, the picture might remain in his house at Antwerp, "as a perpetual monument of his affection for the English King." This interesting anecdote seems authenticated by the circumstance that such a picture appears in the mortuary catalogue of the collection of Rubens.

This deep sympathy for art and artists, flowed from the truest source, that of consummate knowledge. Charles the First possessed that refined discernment which is the faculty of "the Few," in detecting the manner, and the habitual work of any individual master. Painters call this "a knowledge of hands." Lord Orford gives a remarkable story of Charles the First inspecting a collection of portraits at

which were present several "picture-drawers." The King enquired by whose hand was a particular picture? Some attempted to guess, none were positive. The King declared it to be the work of such a man's hand. "I know it," said Charles, "as well as if I had seen him draw it; but is there but one man's hand in this picture?" They did not discover this, while the King persisted in asserting that "there were two hands in it; for I know the hand which drew the heads, but the hand which drew the rest I never saw before." It appears afterwards that a gentleman, who had been at Rome, mentioned that he had seen this very picture with the heads, but the rest unfinished, for the painter dying, the widow procured another to complete the work for sale, the best way he could. This is but a blind story, and the gentleman was, no doubt, a good courtier, observes our polished cynic, though not unwilling to allow that Charles, at least, was an excellent judge of the style of the great masters. The story is probably true; for Charles was an admirable connoisseur, as well as an antiquary. Another incident will confirm the probability of this story. In one of his unhappy flights, when passing a night at the singular monastic institution of the family of the Ferrars at Gidding, an illustrated Bible con-

taining a vast collection of prints,* was placed before the King and the Palsgrave. The latter had more curiosity than knowledge. Even at a moment when the mind of Charles could have little ease, and when the business of the early morning was an early flight, Charles largely descanted on the invention of the masters, and the characters of the engravers. Their works had long been lost to him; but these departed enjoyments of his cultivated tastes lingered in his fond recollections, and could steal an hour from five years of his sorrows.

This fervid devotion to art in Charles the First was acknowledged abroad, as well as at home. Cardinal Barberini, in his character of the protector of the English at Rome, conceived a project of obtaining, by the novel and silent bribery of works of art, those concessions in favour of the English Catholics from Charles the First, which the King in his political capacity had denied. It was on this occasion that Panzani, the secret agent of the Court of Rome, was introduced to the King, as an agent for procuring him pictures, statues, and curiosities; and the earnest enquiries, and orders given

* This identical Bible, with its numerous illustrations, still exists, and may be inspected at the British Museum.

by Charles the First, evince his perfect knowledge of the most beautiful existing remains of ancient arts. Once Charles expressed a wish to purchase a particular statue of Adonis in the villa Ludovisia. As the statue could not be obtained for money, every exertion was made to procure it for the protestant Monarch. But the possessor, the Duchess of Fiano, was as inexorable as might have been Venus herself to preserve her Adonis, and even the chance-conversion of a whole nation of heretics was considered by her as not tantamount to the deprivation of her enamouring statue.

Had the reign of Charles the First proved as peaceful as that of his father, this monarch, in 1640, would have anticipated those tastes, and inspired that enthusiasm for the world of art, which were so long foreign to the nation, and which have not yet reached to those ranks of society, where they ought to be familiar; however Institutions have been nobly opened for the public. The mind of Charles the First was moulded by the graces. His favourite Buckingham was probably a greater favourite from cherishing those congenial tastes. He courted his monarch and his friend, by the frequent exhibitions of those splendid masques and entertainments, which delighted by all the

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rivalries of the most beautiful arts; combining the picture of ballet-dances with the voice of music, the most graceful poetry of Jonson, the scenic machinery of Inigo Jones, or the fanciful devices of Gerbier, the Duke's architect, the pupil and friend of Rubens, and the confidential agent of Charles the First. The costly magnificence of the fêtes at York-house, the Duke's residence, eclipsed the splendour of the French court, for Bassompierre confesses that he had never witnessed a similar magnificence. The King himself delighted in them, but this monarch was too poor to furnish those splendid entertainments. They were not unusual with the great nobility. The literary Duchess of Newcastle mentions one, which the Duke gave to Charles the First, which cost five thousand pounds. The ascetic Puritan in those peevish times, as in our own, would indeed abhor these scenes, but the emulous encouragement they offered to some of the great artists, could not fail to have infused into the national character more cultivated feelings, and more elegant tastes. They charmed even those fiercer Republican spirits themselves in their ingenuous youth. Milton owed his Arcades and his Comus to a masque at Ludlow Castle, and Whitelocke, who had been himself an actor and

a manager in "a splendid royal masque of the four Inns of Court joining together" to go to court, at a later day when drawing up his "Memorials of the English affairs," and occupied by far graver concerns, dwelt with all the fondness of reminiscence on these stately shows and masques; and in a chronicle which contracts many an important event into a single paragraph, has poured forth six folio columns of a minute description of "these dreams passed, and these vanished pomps."

After reading these anecdotes of the private life of Charles the First, and recollecting the great national design which he had already commenced, we must recollect the limited means which contracted these noble efforts. The King, from the earliest period of his reign, was denied the personal enjoyments of a nobleman: and the truth is, that it was only by economical contrivances, with the aid of occasional presents, that Charles the First obtained that fine collection, which was so barbarously inventoried at his death, suffered to be pillaged by the meanest hands, and dispersed at most blundering estimates, to furnish the cabinets of France and Spain.* Such often

* The Harl. MS. 4718, is entitled "An Inventory of the Goods, Jewels, Plate, &c. belonging to King Charles the

was the exhausted state of his exchequer, that it is a curious fact, that when Inigo Jones was appointed Master of the Board of Works, the funds were so low, that the great architect nobly remitted his own pay; nor is it less curious, that Charles, amidst his distress for money, condescended to enter into partnership for the small purchase of some pictures. This singular document is an evidence not only of his prudential expedients, but of his love of the arts. The monarch who entered into this humble contract, and adopted such equality of conditions, must have had some notion of that justice which has been too often denied him. Charles

First, sold by order of the Council of State, from the year 1649 to 1652." A year was allowed to draw up the inventory, and the sale proceeded during three years. It is a magnificent folio of near a thousand pages, of an extraordinary dimension, bound in crimson velvet, and richly gilt, written in a fair large hand, but with little knowledge of the subjects which the inventory-writer describes. Every article was appraised. The medals were not valued at much more than a shilling a piece. The highest value of the masterpieces of art varied from 50*l.* to 100*l.*; many are whimsically low. By what standard they were valued it would be difficult to conjecture. I have given an account of this manuscript in the third volume of "Curiosities of Literature," first series.

the First was here, at least, a lion who abstained from portioning out a lion's share.*

But it was not for this unfortunate Prince, with all these finer tastes, to mitigate the growing barbarism of the times by one short age of taste. We had not yet emerged from our rude and neglected state of the elegant arts. Among the list of the grievances of the Commons in 1625, we find one complains of "the building

* Charles R. "Whereas wee understand that an excellent collection of paintings are to be sold in Venice, which are known by the name of Bartolomeo della Nave his collection. Wee are desirous that our beloved servant, Mr. William Pettye, should goe thither to make the bargaine for them. Wee ourselves beinge resolved to goe a fourth share in the buyinge of them (soe it exceed not the sum of eight hundred pounds sterlinge) but that our name be concealed in it. And if it shall please God that the same collection be bought and come safely hither, then wee doe promise in the word of a KINGE, that they shall be divyded with all equallitye in this manner, vidt. That they shall be equallie divyded into fower parts by some men skillfull in paintinge, and then desire one interested in the shares, or some for them, shall *throw the dice severally*. And whosoever throwes most shall take his share first, and soe in order everye one shall choose after first, as he castes most, and shall take their shares freelye, to their own uses, as they shall fall unto them. In Witness whereof, wee have sett our hands this eight daye of July, in the tenth year of our reigne, 1634."

of all houses in London in one uniform way, with a face of brick towards the streets." To this grievance Charles replied, that a reformation in buildings was a good reformation, and he was resolved to proceed with that work. No doubt the good citizens of London were then destitute of any architectural taste; since even the decent appearance of bricking their fronts, and improving the salubrity of the city, where wooden houses were huddled together in all inconvenient forms, nests for their scourge the plague, which was so often breathing in their faces, was considered as a national grievance. The penurious and grave citizen, the ascetic puritan, felt no ambition to leave their city of brick, which they had found a city of timber. Palladian streets never entered into their imagination.

An affection for the fine arts was yet entirely confined to Charles's own court. Scotland, by her vulgar notions of "superstition" and idolatry, seemed to have exiled the arts from her bleak clime. The elegant poet Drummond, in his history of Scotland, (Bishop Hacket insinuates,) had in view Charles the First, when he drew the character of James the Third. The passage will attest that even the imagination of a Scotch poet, formed too on the most

fanciful models of Italian poesy, could not conceive any thing higher of art or its curiosities, than an idling amusement. "It is allowable in men that have not much to do, to be taken with admiration of watches, clocks, dials, automates, pictures, statues; but the art of princes is to give laws, and govern their people with wisdom in peace, and glory in war; to spare the humble, and prostrate the proud." The public mind was vulgar, and even the genius of the poet, which confounds the knick-knacks of a virtuoso with pictures and statues, had not advanced much beyond it. Drummond might have learnt in better times, that the arts would not incapacitate a great military character, or a great legislator from excelling in their talent; since some of the most illustrious have been among the earliest collectors of the works of art. But it was now still worse at London than at Edinburgh. Among the barbarians, who, like a second irruption of the Goths and Vandals, became those of England, the avowed enemies of art and artists; the Puritans on one side, and the Levellers on the other, excite our indignation as much for their brutalising ignorance, as their calumnies. In that remarkable, yet curious libel on Charles the First, entitled "the None-such Charles," the

writer accuses his late Sovereign, among other enormities, of "squandering away millions of pounds on braveries and vanities, on old rotten pictures and broken-nosed marbles.* Millions of pounds! Charles was never master of a quarter of one! Such was the style and grossness of the times, and of that people who were now to be the rulers of England! Even in the King's lifetime, a puritan expressed his uneasiness that Con, a Scotchman, called the Pope's Legate, was enticing Charles with many various

* "The None-such Charles, his character, extracted out of divers original Transactions, Dispatches, and the Notes of several public ministers, as well at home as abroad, 1651," is an extraordinary little volume. It is composed in the style of Sir A. Weldon's well-known libel of "The Court and Character of James 1st,"—but it is to be valued, for though the libel is not less a libel than the other, it is evident that the writer had obtained access to the State-paper office, and has rummaged out many state secrets, which he turns to his own purpose. It is said to be "published by authority," which indicates the parliamentary sanction. Lord Hardwicke committed a strange blunder when he ascribed it to Sir Balthazar Gerbier; he could never have read it, and was deceived by the ironical title. In my copy I find a MS. note, which says that it was written by Sir A. Weldon, and of this I have no doubt. I have heard that Milton had his eye on this book, when he wrote with such personal hatred of Charles; that great anti-monarchist, however, required no whetstone.

baits, and whom he sought to delude "with gifts of pictures, antique idols, and such like trumperies brought from Rome." Alas! how painful will it ever be in noticing vulgar spirits as these, to add the great name of Milton! In "evil times" only, indeed, would that illustrious man have seemed to reproach the King of England, for having for his "closet-companion," the great Bard of the nation.

Milton, in his Iconoclastes insolently wrote: "I shall not instance an abstruse author, wherein the King might be less conversant, but one whom we well know was the closet companion of these his solitudes, William Shakespeare." Little did Milton imagine that what at the time seemed to cast contempt on the character of the King, would be cited, at a more enlightened period, as a certain evidence of the elegance of the mind of Charles the First.

It has been said that Charles the First was adapted to be greater as a private gentleman than a Sovereign. There may be some truth in the observation; yet it is not so evident that the domestic virtues of the man, are insufficient to constitute an excellent Monarch. Unquestionably, had not peculiar difficulties arisen in his reign, Charles the First would have been

that monarch. Nor can we justly conclude that he was destitute of kingly qualities, who so long and so ably contended, for what he deemed his kingly rights; and voluntarily perished to vindicate his sovereignty. Charles, indeed, loved the privacy of domestic life, and the quiet occupations of study and art. When his troubles began, in 1637, Garrard, the correspondent of the Earl of Strafford, kissed hands on his election to the Mastership of the Charter-house. The King bade him be a good Governor, and impressively assured him that he considered him the happiest man in England. Charles appears to have alluded to his own situation, deeming the Government of the Charter-house, in its dominion of obedient subjects, and in its business of literature, offered a more enviable life, than the days which were clouding over his throne.

——— the pangs that rend the royal breast,
Those wounds that lurk beneath the tissued vest:*

or, as Sir Philip Sidney first expressed it:— "Tragedy openeth the greatest wounds, and sheweth forth the ulcers that are covered with tissue."

* Thomas Warton.

The observation of Addison, that a reader is delighted to learn whether the person whose story is engaging his attention, be either a brown or a fair man, with other personal peculiarities, was new in its day, and since the philosophy of biography has been carried to a perfection unknown to that pleasing writer, its truth has often been confirmed. Nothing is trivial in the narrative of history which assists the reality of its scene, and places its personage by our side. By these natural touches something of the charm of fiction is thrown into the historical composition.

There is a fine and large portrait of Charles the First, by his first favourite Mytens, splendidly engraved by Delphius, the King's engraver. In that portrait, as well as in a miniature which I had copied from a large picture by Vandyke, now in the Pitti Palace at Florence, the expression is quite of another character from the portraits taken at a later period. No secret sorrows, no deepened melancholy, had yet left the traces of painful thoughts over the countenance whose peculiar expression afterwards was so faithfully, perhaps so religiously, transmitted to us. Contrast this portrait of Mytens on Charles's accession to the throne, with the one

so care-worn, so haggard and lean, when the ill-fated Sovereign appeared at his trial,* and you touch both the extremities of his life,—the whole history of Charles seems told!

The intermediate period in this Monarch's life is equally remarkable. Vandyke painted in one picture, the head of Charles in three positions. This was sent by the Queen to Bernini, in order to model his celebrated bust. The well-known anecdote of the sculptor is authentic.† Bernini was a great physiognomist, and after contemplating the portraits, for a while, he exclaimed that he had never seen a portrait, whose countenance showed so much greatness and such marks of sadness: the man

* This portrait, little known, as well as the costume, inscribed "Gaywood fecit," has every appearance of having been taken from the life. It is prefixed to Lambert Wood's Life of Charles, 1659, which of itself is a worthless volume. The reason which induces me to consider this portrait as an original, is the meagreness of the countenance, which is noticed by contemporaries in the latter years of Charles.

† I find the recorded anecdote of Bernini in Evelyn's work on Medals, and in Sir Richard Bulstrode's Memoirs, 66. Henrietta Maria designed to have her own bust, as the companion of Charles's, and portraits on the same plan were painted by Vandyke, but whether the bust was ever executed is not known. At that moment the troubles began. The painting of Henrietta was at Carlton House.

who was so strongly charactered, and whose dejection was so visible, was doomed to be unfortunate! Had the physiognomical predicter examined the two portraits of the happier days of Charles, he might have augured a happier fate. It is therefore evident that what was peculiar in the countenance of Charles was not discoverable till after his thirtieth year.

Charles the First was of a middle stature, his complexion brown, "inclining to a paleness," his forehead not wide, his brows large, his eyes grey, they were quick and penetrating, and their vivacious glances were remarked on the opening of his trial, for Charles, considering himself to be a skilful physiognomist, was a keen observer of persons: his nose was somewhat large and rather round at the tip. The visage on the whole was long, and the lips seem to have been thick. His stammering was a defect which he could never entirely get rid of, though at his trial, the intensity of his feelings carried on his voice without faltering. His hair was of a chesnut colour, falling on his shoulders in large curls, and when young he nourished one luxuriant lock on his left side which floated there; this natural ornament was a fashion abhorred by the puritanic Roundheads; who, having read in the Testament,

"If a man have long hair it is a shame,"* "cut their hair short." This unlucky tress of royalty, excited Prynne's invective against "love-locks." His beard curtailed of ancient dimensions, he wore peaked, with moustachios, in his happier days, but in his troubles, negligent of exterior ornament, his beard covered much of his face. His pace in walking was quick and hurried, somewhat indicative of the usual condition of his mind. In going from St. James's through the Park to the scaffold at Whitehall, one of the papers of the day notices that the King "pleasantly" called to the guard "March apace!" It is said he was not graceful in his motions: a coarse libeller tells us, that "He did not ride like a Prince, but like a post-boy." There was a good deal of earnest impetuosity in his temper, and he seems to have preserved his personal dignity, by a rigid decency in the gravity of his manners and the measured style of his speech, sparing of words.

There was a family likeness in the Stuarts, even to their long fingers, but there was no Stuart whose countenance resembled that of Charles the First. Whence then the effect which is still produced by contemplating the

* 1 Cor. xi. 14.

pensive and melancholy physiognomy of this Monarch? It seems an ideal head.

Parallels have been more than once drawn between the tragical afflictions of the martyred Monarch and the tribulations of "the Saviour" when on earth. In human records, no princely names could be found but which seemed too low to rival his magnanimous sufferings. Stricken by sympathies, stronger and more elevated than they had ever experienced, some divines dared to compare Charles to Christ. Tickell has happily alluded to their disturbed piety. They found

> "All parallels were wrong, or blasphemy."

The difficulty of combining the ideas of a human with a divine nature, has formed the despair of the greatest artists. The pencil has never yet pourtrayed the celestial head of "the Saviour" in the form of humanity. It is, however, singular that artists of genius have considered that the head of this Monarch is the only portrait which they could venture to place before them, as a model for the head of Christ, so peculiar is its mixture of majesty and sadness. Thus it happens that in looking on the portrait of Charles, with all its numerous associations, whether some behold "the King in

chains, and the Prince bound in fetters," or others "a man of sorrows acquainted with grief," there is no portrait of any other Sovereign, which awakens such powerful emotions as does the head of Charles the First.*

* It is mortifying to disclose the levity of feeling of men of genius, whose political tempers seem to close up every avenue to their heart, or their imagination. "It is," says an able Edinburgh Reviewer, "to such considerations as these," (alluding to some instances of Charles's good qualities, as a father and a husband, which are given by one who probably is too young to be either) "together with his Vandyke dress, his handsome face, and his peaked beard, that he owes, we verily believe, most of his popularity with the present generation."—*Ed. Rev.* Vol. xlii. p. 330.

But there are other "handsomer faces in a Vandyke dress" which do not affect us as the portrait of Charles the First. All this seems innocent, however superficial may be the popular prejudices of the critic, compared with the frightful barbarism of the heartless Horace Walpole. Even the last parting moments of the King with Bishop Juxon, afford him a most indecent parody,—(Lord Orford's Works, v. 472) and in a letter, he writes "I was diverted with two relics of Charles the Martyr, one the pearl you see in his picture, taken out of his ear after his foolish head was off; the other the cup out of which he took the sacrament." One could hardly have expected, as Mr. Croker has observed, in alluding to Walpole's unfeeling observation on Charles in his last moments, "to find him playing the Jack-pudding on a bloody scaffold!"

I am tempted here to anticipate a passage from that po-

pular criticism, which is so much to the taste of the times; a passage which should rather be noticed at the close of this work. The Edinburgh Reviewer, thus describes the fate of Charles the First. "The enemy of English liberty was not murdered by men whom he had pardoned and loaded with benefits. He was not stabbed in the back by those who misled and cringed before his face. He was vanquished on fields of stricken battle; he was arraigned, sentenced, and executed in the face of heaven and earth. Our liberty is neither Greek nor Roman, but essentially English."* The eloquence of the writer will be but a poor apology for this misrepresentation of the real state of the affairs to which he alludes. We shall not here stop to correct them, but we may admire the juvenile audacity of an ardent party-writer, who seems to conclude that we are entirely ignorant of the mode by which the murderers of Charles the First effected their nefarious purpose.

When a Member in the House of Commons, with that vulgar levity we often witness from men who seem ignorant of their national history, alluded to the immolated Monarch, Canning rose, and poured out his indignant spirit. "He trusted that he should never arrive at that cool contemplation, which enabled the honourable Member to talk of the murder of Charles the First as of a lawful act. He hoped no degree of liberality, no respect for freedom, would ever induce him to look back on such a transaction with any other feelings than those of the horror and indignation which it was calculated to excite. Could he ever bring himself to entertain such an opinion, even in his closet, he would never utter it in that House, and still less proclaim it to a nation struggling for independence. In God's name, let not this country stand

* Ed. Rev. vol. xlvii. 346.

foremost in pointing out such a course as this, as the high-road to freedom. Whatever might be the policy of giving or withholding our aid, the suggestion of crime was at least one of those aids which we might best withhold."

I am indebted to my very ingenious friend Mr. J. H. Markland, for this passage in a speech of Canning's. It was a note taken at the time, probably in March 1821.

CHAPTER VII.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE QUEEN ON THE KING'S CONDUCT.

THE influence of Henrietta Maria over Charles the First is an important subject for inquiry, not only in the private, but in the public life of the Monarch. It claims to be treated with some delicacy, and with more truth. On no subject of these Commentaries, ought I, to require more of the reader's confidence that my researches are wholly prompted by the curiosity, or the zeal, which we feel in unravelling the perplexities in which human nature sometimes seems enveloped. Let the reader, for the few minutes which will be allotted to this chapter, be patient under the popular prejudices and the old impressions he carries in his mind, and let him accompany me, feeling our way, now in twilight, and now in darkness, in these cautious gropings after truth.

Charles the First is accused by all parties of that spiritless uxoriousness and subserviency to his Queen, which had a fatal influence over his political conduct. This opinion was prevalent in his own day. But we have to encounter a more formidable host than contemporaries, whose opinions may happen to originate in passion and prejudice, in the writers of our history, who all have echoed to each other the same conviction of "the absolute power" of Henrietta Maria.

Clarendon, that grave Minister, and others who were acting with him, disliked the Queen, her papists, and her nation. Mr. Hyde often appears as irritably jealous of female influence, as afterwards was Lord Clarendon, an influence which that Statesman aptly describes as "powerful and near." His Lordship has touched on "the Queen's absolute power" over the King, and one of the effects of this power, he tells us, appeared in "the removal of great Ministers," but the noble historian is also our authority to show that "neither the Archbishop nor the Earl of Strafford were in any degree acceptable to the Queen."—How then happened it that Charles the First so entirely passive to "the absolute power" of his wife, as Charles called

the Queen, never removed these "great Ministers?" If Henrietta's absolute will were to govern the State, had she no favourites to supply their places, and she too, who, as so many assure us, was such a mistress of political intrigue?

Hume sometimes sympathizing with the unfortunate Charles, and often taking his impressions from Clarendon, tells us that Charles the First was by the Queen "precipitated into hasty and impetuous councils." Hume supposes, we must imagine, that Charles himself was never "hasty and impetuous." Bishop Kennett describes the light, volatile, inconsiderate temper of the hapless daughter of Henry the Fourth, as "the influence of a stately Queen over an affectionate husband." "That wicked woman!" exclaims Warburton, in the heat of Protestant passion. "That pernicious woman at his side!" echoes the philosophical Hallam, who has here considered perhaps the number of the witnesses in court, rather than the weight of their evidence. Gibbon, who probably had never brought his penetrating inquiries to the critical investigation of the history of this period, notices how "Charles was governed by a Catholic Queen." Authority, it might seem,

was not wanting to establish the position, but his philosophical genius might have been mortified, could any one have succeeded in proving to him that this opinion was at least merely vulgar, and that had Charles not been united to a Roman Catholic Princess, the Romanists would have shared the same royal protection, for the same reasons of state, which had been adopted by his father; for though the nation sometimes seemed unreasonably jealous, the Romanists, when their day of conspiracy was over, were an ancient, a numerous, and even a noble body of useful subjects, whose loyalty, as was afterwards proved, entered even into their religion.

Our history has often been composed by those whose panics were more warranted, than we at this day are perhaps competent to decide on. These writers, and the nation at large, seemed to have desired nothing short of an extermination of the Romanists. The Puritans of England would willingly have applauded an Edict against the English Catholics, like that of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which rejected the French Huguenots from their fatherland. The policy of the Cabinet may happen to be in opposition to the passions of a people, but it is not necessarily wrong. Charles temporized; and it has been his fate to be the fa-

vourite of neither party. Had he dared, which was out of his nature to do, a great *coup d'état,* by banishing every Romanist from England, Charles would have become popular at the cost of his better feelings.

We may judge how our history on this point of the Queen's influence has been written, by turning to the historian of the Puritans. "The Queen was a very great bigot to her religion; her conscience was directed by her confessor, assisted by the Pope's Nuncio, and a secret cabal of priests and jesuits. These controlled the Queen, and she the King, so that in effect the nation was governed by popish councils till the long parliament."* Tacitus abridged every thing because he saw every thing; but the presbyter Neal has abridged a chimæra! The whole passage reads like an abridgment of the secret history of this reign, in the style of a political catechism, fitted for boys in the sixth form of puritanism. The closest researcher in our history has yet to discover this "secret cabal of priests and jesuits" acting circuitously on the Queen, and she on the King, and the nation governed by "their popish councils." The confessor of the Queen, Father Philip,

* Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, i. 507.

stole about Somerset-House with the Capuchins in dread of their lives; and as for the Capuchins themselves, I, who possess their Memoirs, can testify, that except half-a-dozen sly conversions, "their popish councils" did not prosper out of their neighbourhood. The Pope's nuncio did not even venture to assume his character. In this plausible manner are party-histories composed, and the innocent appeal to them for their authorities!

Mr. Brodie has ingeniously detected the fatal moments when the Queen's imperious temper gave her the ascendancy: these were when Charles in his violent courses found his fortitude forsake him; so that her influence was greatest when circumstances were most critical. Thus perpetually are we reminded, that every great political error of the King, was the dictation of the Queen; and though her name rarely appears among the incidents of our history, except when the panic of papistry breaks out, it would seem that on the side of Charles the greater part originated with this profound and Political Queen.

Even the more subtile reasoners unreason themselves on this popular prejudice of the Queen's influence over Charles the First. Mr. Godwin writes, "The Queen applied all the

vast influence she had hitherto exercised over her husband to prevail on him to agree to the establishment of the presbyterian form of church government."* Doubtless to her, between two heretics, the choice was indifferent. But what was the result of this "vast influence?" Charles never would concede the point, for not many pages after, Mr. Godwin tells us, "The whole project of the Presbyterians was defeated by the unexpected pertinacity of the King."† Such was the Queen's vast influence!

There is a principle in historical inquiries, which we may frequently apply. In all intricate passages of history, whenever we detect an incongruity in the character,—a discrepancy in the incidents,—a cause assigned not commensurate with the prodigious effect deduced from it,—our suspicion may be allowed to awaken our scepticism; and according to the degree of our knowledge, we may discriminate the proportion in which falsehood has been mixed with truth. In the political influence of Henrietta over Charles, which so many historical writers have ascribed to her, we may be struck by all these monstrous conjunctures.

* Godwin's Hist. of the Commonwealth, ii. 137.

† Ibid, 176.

From all these authorities, we learn that Charles the First in the possession of his active faculties, with his argumentative habits, and his unchangeable dispositions, sunk into a passive being, an imbecile monarch! Yet how will this agree with the indisputable fact, that Charles afterwards lived and acted several years separated from his Queen, and on all emergent occasions, displayed the most prompt capacity? Did the Queen suggest a single sentence in that series of private correspondence with the Marquis of Hamilton on the complicated concerns of the Scottish affairs? But to sanction the received opinion of the predominance of Henrietta Maria in so many intricate difficulties, it is not sufficient to assert the weakness of Charles, it is absolutely necessary that this Queen should be endowed, like another Catherine of Medicis, with a plotting head, and a governing hand. The Editor of Madame du Deffand's Letters, in her "Views of the Social Life in England and France," at once declares that Henrietta "had been brought up amidst all the political intrigues of her mother Mary of Medicis." It probably never occurred to this female philosopher of the school of Horace Walpole, that the Queen was only sixteen years of age when she came over here. I am un-

acquainted with the due term of a political apprenticeship, but a young lady of sixteen, who had passed most of her time in pastorals and dances, could hardly be yet a Machiavel.

It is remarkable that a Queen, who is imagined to have performed so complicate a part in our history, scarcely ever appears in it, but to receive some courtly compliment, or to betray the terrors in which she often lived. On one occasion, to save the life of Strafford, we see Henrietta appointing a midnight interview with two or three heads of the Opposition, and holding a flambeau, pass by the back-stairs into an apartment, alone and in secrecy, to offer any terms! This which looks like a political intrigue was really none, the whole transaction was as simple as it proved to be inefficient. There are three or four instances in which recourse was had to the Queen in order to influence the King by her tears, or her prayers, to comply with certain measures. Mr. Hallam quotes a letter of the Queen from Paris to Charles containing political advice, but the letter was written at the suggestion of Colepepper and Ashburnham: it was none of her own. In every one of these cases, the parties were working on the terrors of an affrighted woman, and the Queen was but a passive instrument in their

hands, and the simple organ of their ideas. These incidents so far from conferring on Henrietta a political character, are evidence of the reverse, for they show that whenever she was brought forward, nothing political ever originated with herself; she had no other opinions than what she listened to, no other system than the personal safety of herself and the King. No secret history pretends to give any account of her influence in the Council of State, nor do we hear of any consultations held with her Majesty. But we know that all her confidants were of the household or of the court-circle; the gay courtiers and younger branches of the nobility, with two or three poets, who had no other politics than their loyalty, their chat, and their pleasures. We hear of no political cabinet of Henrietta. If she regulated the affairs of a nation of whose very manners she was ignorant, her genius must have lain concealed in the depth of her own thoughts, and in the secrecy of her own chamber. We cannot judge of this concealed genius by many specimens we have of her correspondence, which are always on ordinary topics, expressed in as ordinary a style. In her private memoirs, such as her conversations with Clarendon during his exile, and her confidential intercourse with Madame de

Motteville on her final return to France, and in other sources, we discover that Henrietta was nothing more than a volatile woman, who had never studied, never reflected, and whom Nature had formed to be charming and haughty, but whose vivacity could not retain even a state-secret for an hour, and whose talents, so well adapted to invent, with her poets at her side, a fanciful pastoral, cast the figure of a dance, or dress out the enchantment of a rich masque, could never have pretended to conduct an involved political intrigue. She viewed even the characters of great men with the sensations of a woman. Observing that the Earl of Strafford was a great man, she dwelt with more interest on his person; "though not handsome," she said, "he was agreeable enough, and he had the finest hands of any man in the world." She betrayed the same levity of feeling on a most serious occasion. The Parliament's admiral was barbarously pointing his cannon at the house she lodged in; several shots reaching it, her favourite Jermyn requested her to fly; she escaped into a cavern in the fields, but recollecting that she had left her lap-dog asleep on her bed, she flew back, and amidst the cannon-shots returned with this other favourite. The Queen related this anecdote to Madame de Motteville, and

these ladies considered it as a complete woman's victory. It is in these memoirs we find, that when Charles went down to the House to seize the five leading Members of the Opposition, the Queen could not retain her lively restlessness, and impatiently babbled the secret to Lady Carlisle. It has been recently discovered by Monsieur Mazure, that this lady transmitted the hasty intelligence to the French ambassador, who pretends in his dispatches that he warned "his friends," as he calls the five members. How far this was the exact truth we know not; but I have also discovered from the manuscripts of another French agent, that Lady Carlisle always kept up a close communication with French ambassadors. In the present instance, as her Ladyship had more than one confidential friend, and particularly Pym, of whom it is said that Lady Carlisle was the "*Dame de ses pensées*," her Ladyship might have dispatched a duplicate *billet-doux*. The well-known anecdote is recorded on this eventful occasion. When the Queen perceived the King wavered at the moment, she exclaimed, "Go, Poltroon! pull these rogues out by the ears, or never see my face more." "The submissive husband obeyed," adds Mrs. Macauley. This anecdote has been held as positive proof of the ascendancy of the

Queen in political affairs. As far as I have been able to trace this anecdote, it rests on the authority of a single person; but that she delivered such words, or words like these I believe, because about twenty years afterwards Sir Arthur Haslerigg in the Commons alluded to the fact,* but then he tells it differently, and applies the reproval of "Poltroon" to the King on his return. This version must be a false one, because the Queen could not have reproached the King with cowardice, for having missed the five members. The words Henrietta is said to have used are in the familiar style of a French woman who would back her wavering husband to do what had been already resolved. But what does this famous proof of the Queen's ascendancy amount to? This apparent menace depends on the tone and the gesture in which it was delivered. Suppose she threatened with a smile, and menaced as awfully? At all events the anecdote affords no proof of her Majesty's inventive politics, and, as on other occasions of this nature, she acted on the suggestions of others. This false step of Charles did not originate with the Queen.

* Burton's Diary, iii. 93.

But if incidents like these which we have just noticed, betray the feminine dispositions of this Queen, we perceive that on every trying occasion, Henrietta never forgot that she was the daughter of Henry IV.; that glorious affinity was inherited by her with all the sexual pride, and hence at times that energy in her actions which was so far above her intellectual capacity. Mr. Hallam observes that "Henrietta was by no means the high-spirited woman that some have fancied." I always differ with deference from Mr. Hallam, whose knowledge is very extensive on this subject, but by this expression he probably alluded to some part of her political conduct. She latterly lived terrified in her palace* and often entered into her chapel in trepidation. Can we deny her an heroic spirit when we discover her passing over to Holland, to procure aid for the King, and on her return in the midst of a small army partaking of the common fare of the soldier in the open field as she was hastening to join the King? nor less can we admire the determined courage when at sea in danger of being taken by a Parliamentarian, the Queen

* Her carriage was once drawn up to take her flight from England—when she was betrayed to the Parliament by Goring. See Mazure, iii. 426.

commanded the Captain never to strike, but to prepare at the extremity to blow up the ship, resisting the shrieks of her females and her domestics. Henrietta might have been conscious that a scaffold, with which, indeed, she had been already threatened, awaited her coming to Whitehall—but it proved that she knew to choose and to face death.

Henrietta's talents were not of that order which could influence the intrigues of a Cabinet and the revolutions of a nation. The French vivacity of her manners and conversation with her natural gaiety might have allowed her to become a politician of the toilette, and she might have practised those slighter artifices which may be considered as so many political coquetries. Her favours, or her caprice, might have some influence in the Court-circle—in an appointment in the Royal Household, in the dismissal of an unwelcome courtier*

* When the Parliament, with a shameless disregard of all decency and honour, published the Letters of Charles to the Queen, there was one in which they pretended to show to the people that "the eminent places in the kingdom were disposed of by her advice." To this the King replied, that "the places there named, in which her Majesty's advice may seem to be desired, are not places, as they call it, of the kingdom, but *private menial places, a Treasurer of the House-*

—but she had such little discrimination in her favourite attendants that they were always betraying or deserting her. A little anecdote has been recorded of this Queen, which will convey a different idea of those high notions of female predominance. At Newark, having treated the Garrison with some attentions, a certain Sempronia, one of the Stateswomen of that day, who we are told governed her husband, who in time of peace governed the county—drew up a petition, which she presented the Queen accompanied by her coterie of secondary politicians—it was to pray her Majesty would not remove from Newark, till Nottingham should be taken. The affair had been kept secret from the husbands of these lady-politicians, of which the Queen appears to have been aware. After receiving the petition, the Queen replied, "Ladies, affairs of this nature are not in our sphere; I am commanded by the King to make all the

hold, a Captain of the Pensioners, and a Gentleman of the Bedchamber. Concerning the other more public places, His Majesty absolutely declares himself, without leaving room for her advice, which seems to prove the contrary to that, which by this they intend to prove."

His Majesty's Declaration—27—Oxford, 1643.

This representation seems to be the exact truth, but the reverse is the popular belief.

haste I can; you will receive this advantage at least by my answer, that although I cannot grant your petition, you may learn by my example to obey your husbands.*

Machiavelian principles, systematic plots, and involved intrigues, of which she has been so freely accused, could never have entered into the character of a female, whose quick and light passions were transient as the occasion.

Ere the Civil Wars broke out, she had lived in anxiety, and even in terror. She well knew that she and her "Papists" were odious to the people, and it is certain that the Parliamentary leaders most barbarously practised on the panics of a female and a foreigner—a wretched Queen who had already felt she sate on a deserted throne! She lost the bloom of her complexion so early that to console herself for this mortifying disappointment she would maintain that women lose their beauty soon after twenty. When she suffered the heaviest of human calamities, her frame was macerated by her secret sorrows. The dark and dazzling lustre of her eyes frequently shone in tears, she assumed the

* This anecdote of Henrietta may be found in those curious "Memoirs of the Family of Cavendish," appended to a Sermon at the funeral of William Duke of Devonshire by Bishop Kennett, p. 91.

mourning habit for ever, and frequently retired to a religious establishment which she endowed. Yet even then at a sally of wit, or some poignant satire, Henrietta has been known to chase away the tears trickling on her own cheek, for a moment to return to her natural disposition. Often she found her understanding failing her —and was terrified lest it was approaching to madness—an evil which the old Court Physician, Mayerne, somewhat plainly told her Majesty not to fear—for that she was already mad! She had outlived the Revolution without comprehending it. Such was the unfortunate Henrietta of France!

As probably I shall find no other opportunity to record the extraordinary manner in which Henrietta was affected on learning the unexpected fate of her unfortunate consort, I shall here preserve it. It is given by an eye-witness, with great simplicity of detail, the Pere Gamache, one of the Capuchins who had waited on the Queen in England, and from whose manuscript I have drawn some interesting matters in my former volumes.

"The city of Paris was then blockaded, by the insurgents, and in the King's minority it was with difficulty we obtained either entrance or egress. The Queen of England, residing at

the Louvre, had dispatched a gentleman to St. Germain *en laye* to the French Court, to procure news from England. During her dinner, where I assisted at the grace, I had notice to remain there after the benediction, and not to quit her Majesty, who might need consolation at the sad account she was to receive of the terrible death of the King her husband. At this grievous intelligence, I felt my whole frame shudder, and withdrew aside from the circle, where during an hour the various conversations on indifferent subjects seemed not to remove the uneasiness of the Queen, who knew that the gentleman she had dispatched to St. Germain ought to have returned. She was complaining of his delay in bringing his answer. On which the Count of St. Alban's (Jermyn) took this opportunity to suggest that the gentleman was so faithful and so expeditious in obeying her Majesty's commands on these occasions, that he would not have failed to have come, had he had any favourable intelligence. 'What then is the news? I see it is known to you,' said the Queen. The Count replied, that in fact he did know something of it, and when pressed, after many evasions to explain himself, and many ambiguous words to prepare her little by little to receive the fatal intelli-

gence, at length he declared it to the Queen, who seemed not to have expected any thing of the kind. She was so deeply struck, that instantly, entirely speechless, she remained voiceless and motionless, to all appearance a statue. A great philosopher has said that ordinary griefs allow the heart to sigh and the lips to murmur, but that extraordinary afflictions, terrible and fatal, cast the soul into stupor, make the tongue mute, and take away the senses. '*Curæ leves loquuntur, graves stupent.*' To this pitiable state was the Queen reduced, and to all our exhortations and arguments she was deaf and insensible. We were obliged to cease talking, and we remained by her in unbroken silence, some weeping, some sighing, and all with sympathising countenances, mourning over her extreme grief. This sad scene lasted till nightfall, when the Duchess of Vendome, whom she greatly loved, came to see her. Weeping she took the hand of the Queen, tenderly kissing it—and afterwards spoke so successfully, that she seemed to have recovered this desolated Princess from that loss of all her senses, or rather that great and sudden stupor, produced by the surprising and lamentable intelligence of the strange death of the King."*

* Memoires de la mission des Capucius près la Regne de l'Angleterre. MS.

Such is the pathetic and affecting narrative. It surely proves that the affections of Henrietta were riveted on those of her royal husband, nor can we less admire the caution and the delicacy with which Lord Jermyn, with no common dexterity, gradually prepared her for the unutterable calamity. The catastrophe appears to have come wholly unexpected. The stupor of grief was never more forcibly described.

Let us now endeavour to ascertain the sort of influence which this vivacious princess could have exercised over Charles in his political character—and we shall not find wanting more satisfactory evidence than preceding historians have been aware of, or general readers could imagine—existing on a subject of such delicacy and privacy as the secret influence of a wife over her husband.

It is unquestionable that the personal affections of Charles the First, once settled, were unchangeable. With his thoughtful and retired nature, friend, relative, and wife equally shared in the devotion of the heart. Not that the sensibility of his temper was quick; but with men whose feelings seemed locked up in ice, slow and hard to move, the stream flows deepest.

In characters such as that of Charles, there

is an obstinacy in their very affections. The causes of some of the heaviest misfortunes of this ill-fated monarch may be traced to his concentrated domestic feelings; they were strong —even to weakness! We see them in his passion for his Queen; in his unalterable, though injudicious friendship for his first companion Buckingham; in his entire confidence in the Marquis of Hamilton, even to his last moments, and after very suspicious conduct; in his partiality for the sons of his sister, the Princes Rupert, and Maurice, who as Generals ruined his affairs. It is not perhaps difficult to account for the absence of all judgment indicated by these infirm partialities. Is it not delightful to fancy that those who stand most closely connected with us, and are acting with us in the business of life, possess the talents which we require, as they do the confidence which they deserve—in a word, that their intelligence is commensurate with their integrity? This, which would have been a generous error in a private man, was a fatal one in a sovereign.

Charles was deeply enamoured of the Queen; "the temperance of his youth by which he had lived so free from personal vice," as May, the parliamentary historian records—writing from

a personal knowledge of the King—had given to his first love—and his last, as the King avowed in his solemn farewell at the parting hour of life—all the influence which that Queen was privileged by nature to possess over a husband. Charles knew not, as those persons imply, who wrote such mean notes on his affectionate letters, that a husband could love too well; or that he could refuse his confidence to one so intimate with his thoughts, and so constant a witness of his actions, as a beloved wife. We may believe, too, that in desperate exigencies, and there were several—such was his tenderness for the person of a hapless princess, a foreigner and a Catholic, her health often yielding to her anxieties, that as Sir Philip Warwick says—"He was always more chary of her person, than his business." It may indeed be said of Charles the First, that many years after his marriage, he did not cease to be a lover; and his letters to his exiled Queen, written amidst his own deep afflictions and personal deprivations, in haste or flight, breathe a spirit of tenderness and passion which was not exceeded in his romantic youth.

So late as in 1645 the King writes—"Since I love thee above all earthly things, and that my contentment is inseparably conjoined with

thine, must not all my actions tend to serve and please thee? If thou knew what a life I lead (I speak not in respect of the common distractions), even in point of conversation, which in my mind is the chief joy or vexation of one's life, I dare say thou would pity me; for some are too wise, others too foolish, some too busy, others too reserved, many fantastic. In a word, when I knew none better (I speak not now in relation to business) than (here he gives a list of persons in cipher) thou may easily judge how my conversation pleaseth me. I confess thy company hath perhaps made me in this hard to be pleased, but not less to be pitied by thee, who art the only cure for this disease. Comfort me with thy letters, and dost not thou think that to know particulars of thy health and how thou spendest thy time are pleasing subjects to me, though thou hast no other business to write of? Believe me, sweetheart, thy kindness is as necessary to comfort my heart, as thy assistance is for my affairs."

Such were the tender effusions of Charles the First, beautiful in feeling and expression, nor were they answered with inferior devotion by the Queen, whose words were sanctioned by her deeds.—"Assure yourself I shall be

wanting in nothing you shall desire, and that I will hazard my life that is, to die by famine, rather than not send to you." But however active might be her zealous offices, she does not venture to act without the permission of Charles. On some new engagement she says, "I thought this to be a matter of so great engagement, that I dare not do it without your command; therefore if it please you that I should do so, send me what you would have me write, that I may not do more than what you appoint, and also be confident." So that this imperious Queen, would not act without obeying the command of her enslaved husband!

There is a tender passage in one of the Queen's letters, and equally pathetic. Deep and genuine emotions give even to the simplicity of mind all the force of eloquence—Henrietta writes from Paris, "There is one other thing in your letter which troubles me much, where you would have me keep to myself your dispatches, as if you believe that I should be capable to shew them to any, only to Lord Jer. to uncipher them; my head not suffering me to do it myself; but if it please you, I will do it, and none in the world shall see them; be kind to me, or you kill me. I have already affliction enough to bear, which

without you I could not do, but your service surmounts all; farewell, my dear heart! Behold the mark which you desire to have to know when I desire any thing in earnest X." Such was the wife of Charles Stuart, who if she never obtained any ascendancy at the council-table of the King, doubtless ruled over him by the more potent charms of every thing that was most lovely, most tender, and most vivacious.

The letters, which we have here quoted, were published by the Parliamentarians. And who having read such passages, does not reject with contempt the barbarous "Annotations" of those vulgar minds, who could debase even the cant of their patriotism by the greater cant of their religion? Yet we may smile at the depth of their politics, and the delicacy of their emotions, when we discover the note-writer's acuteness in observing that "The King professes to prefer her health before the exigence and importance of his own public affairs."

But in the passion of Charles for his Queen, the impulse of Nature was stronger than the sterile imagination of the sour presbyterian Harris, who furnishes a long quotation from Cicero to prove that "the most servile of all slaves, is the slave of a woman," and another

from Milton, who appears to have felt a religious conviction, that

> ——" God's universal law
> Gave to the man despotic power
> Over his female,
> Smile she, or lour."

But on this subject we smile at the aphorisms of statesmen, and the chapter and verse of divines; those who write in their closets, should also live with us in human society; and even Harris with his accustomed profundity, adds to his learned authorities, that " These things are boldly said, but women in all ages have had great sway."

We will tell the Presbyter, and even Cicero and Milton, that Charles the First admired in Henrietta all those personal graces which he himself wanted; her vivacity and conversation enlivened his own seriousness, and her gay volubility, the impediment of his own speech, while the versatility of her manners relieved his own formal habits. Bernardin de St. Pierre has raised up a fanciful theory of love created by contrasts, and however the French philosopher may have lost himself among the details, our reading and our experience may furnish arguments or facts, which would illustrate this

concord of discords in "the harmonies of nature."

Of this kind was the influence of Henrietta over Charles. And how far that influence prevailed in his public affairs, remains to be developed; and if on unquestionable evidence we can show, that Charles could not have been, as we are told, a weak slave to the sole will of Henrietta, we shall furnish one more instance of that popular delusion which is raised in its day for party purposes, and is perpetuated by the echoes of writers, who consult for their ease, what is convenient, rather than what is just.

There is no doubt of the Catholic zeal of Henrietta, and that if the Queen really exercised this entire influence over Charles, she would have stretched it to the utmost in that cause which was dear to her as life itself. Yet we find on the undeniable evidence of Panzani, the Pope's secret agent in England, that when he applied to the Queen, respecting the election of a Roman Catholic Bishop for England, and for which she was extremely anxious, Henrietta would not deliver any opinion till she had consulted the King. At their next conference while she redoubled her assurance, that she had nothing more at heart, the King was

against it, and therefore she must bear the mortification of his refusal, and be patient. This single fact sufficiently proves that whenever the views of the Queen militated against the higher interests of the Government, the sceptre of Charles was no distaff.*

Nor can there be a doubt that at all times Henrietta was disposed to favour the wishes of her own family, and yet we find that on every great national interest, Charles in his intercourse with the French Court was decisive and intrepid. He rose to the full conception of his character as an English sovereign, and on repeated occasions asserted his own honour and vindicated the national glory—yielding nothing to the importunities of his French wife. Charles expelled a French faction from his court, amidst the tears and the outcries of his impassioned Queen, while he accepted the menace of war, in the justification of what he assumed as his rights. On another occasion when D'Estrades hastened to this country to

* This circumstance is not mentioned in Panzani's published Memoirs, but in the curious unpublished Report of his Mission to Urban VIII. cited by Mr. Butler in his "Historical Memoirs of the English Catholics," iii. 69, first edition. To Mr. Butler I am greatly indebted for the loan of his Manuscript.

secure the neutrality of England, however willing the Queen must have felt to gratify her brother's request, we know she declared "that she would not concern herself with affairs of that nature, for she had already suffered a severe reprimand on that subject from the King himself."

There was once an attempt to baptize a prince by a Romish priest in the bed-chamber. Did Henrietta succeed? The King stepped in, dismissed the priest, and commanded one of his own chaplains to perform the office as a Protestant; so firm was Charles and so unyielding even to the wishes of the Queen, when state-matters interfered.*

Clarendon has said that Charles often yielded a strange deference to minds inferior to his own. If ever he followed female councils, as we are told, it is probable that at least he approved of them, nor is it less probable that in the confidential intercourse of the parties, these very councils might have resulted from his own suggestions. It is no unusual case with such minds as that of Charles, to waver when they have formed their own opinions, but to adopt them too eagerly and imprudently, when re-echoed by another.

* Dodd's Church Hist. iii. 3.

An anecdote in Madame de Motteville's Memoirs may show us in what manner Charles was governed by his Queen. Henrietta and Jermyn were consulting on the mysterious communication with the army respecting what is called the Army-plot, to be managed by Goring and Wilmot. The rival jealousies of the two commanders early appeared in this affair, and Charles had designed to send Jermyn to reconcile their mutual discontents. Henrietta in communicating the King's wish to Jermyn was equally agitated by the terror of the Parliament's discovery, and by the perilous predicament in which her favourite master of the horse would be placed; she therefore, in disclosing the King's desire, forbade him to interfere. At this critical moment Charles entered her cabinet, and without knowing the object, smilingly repeating the last words of the Queen, playfully added, "Yes! yes! he shall do it!"—"No! no!" replied the Queen, "he shall not do it, and when I have told you what it is, I am sure you will be of my mind."—"Say then, Madam," rejoined the King, "what is it, that I may know what you forbid, and I command." Henrietta explained. The King sympathised with her fears, acknowledging the danger of Jermyn's interference—but it was a danger, he added, which could not be avoided,

and they must run the risk. Charles commanded Jermyn to hasten his task—he obeyed, and in the performance of his office was fortunate enough to save himself by flight.

If ever the Queen on great emergencies had the power so generally ascribed to her, and that Charles was the servile and spiritless husband he is perpetually represented to have been, we may be certain that Henrietta, fully aware of the imminent peril in which her favourite was cast, would have put her higher veto, on the royal command.

But Charles seems never to have acted in his political character, as one accustomed to obey, and we now bring forward the evidence of an eminent person who in an intercourse with their Majesties was a close observer of their characters.

In a secret communication from the Earl of Northumberland to the Earl of Leicester, the King is concealed under the name of *Arviragus*, and the Queen under that of *Celia*.

"Celia, I find, is not hard enough to dispute with Arviragus in a case of this nature; for he hath too much sophistry for her."*

But his Lordship is more explicit when he

* *Sophistry* is here used in a good sense; the term for reasoning.

really points out the objects where the Queen's influence might prevail with Charles. "Celia will be able to serve you in *things of favour* rather than in what must be *disputed and sifted for reason and justice,* because Arviragus is too subtle." And again—"Our Master loves not to hear other people give what is only fit for him."

We can have no more positive or higher testimony of the unchangeable character of Charles I. It comes from one who was no flatterer. We here discover all the nature of that "malignant influence" which Henrietta was allowed to exercise over the King—it was entirely confined within the Court and the Household, and the greatest political mischief she could fall into was her injudicious choice of faithless favourites—but Charles was too subtle, that is, he was too firm, when matters were to be disputed or sifted for reason and justice."

Charles was sensible that his French Catholic Queen shared no friendly prepossessions; and that Henrietta might secure friends about her, the King allowed her to be the medium of "favours:" yet even of these, as we have just seen on several occasions, he appears to have looked on with a jealous eye. Charles too was indignant at the artifices of the Parliamentarians who had inflamed the passions of the

vulgar against this terrified foreigner — and however unwise it was to obtrude the Queen's name on the people, it was an attempt to endear her to their recollections, being always on acts of grace. Hence at York he declared that the Queen had by her letter advised him to call the Parliament. Charles publicly gave her an importance on such a solemn act of Government, which he would probably not have allowed in private.

Henrietta, we may believe, possessed all those winning arts which a woman is born to practise. She had at least the ambition to please her husband after she had subdued her aversion to the English people and to the English language. Her desire to acquire the latter, which must have cost her many pains, is no slight evidence of her real affection for Charles. After that curtain-lecture with which the reader of my preceding volumes is acquainted, Charles remonstrated with the French Court, and among other matters complained that the Queen would not conform to English customs, and learn the English language. A few years after we may trace her Majesty's zealous progress under her English tutor.*

* Mr. Wingate, who was a person of some name and condition, for he died one of the Seniors of Gray's Inn. He

The history of "the Queen's Pastoral," as it was called by way of distinction, offers an amusing illustration of her tastes and her proficiency in the English language.

This splendid "Pastoral," during several months, had engaged in its preparation the deepest attention of her Majesty and all her maids of honour. Ben Jonson had been usually destined to compose the verses and the dialogue of the masques and pastorals, and Inigo Jones had combined his rich inventions in their machinery. A fierce quarrel had however now separated these brothers of genius in their united and emulative labours. This circumstance only appeared by two bitter lampoons in the works of Jonson; and as the occasion remained unknown, the poet had incurred the severe animadversions of several eminent modern critics, for the malignity of this personal attack on so fine a genius as that of the architect of Whitehall. I was enabled in the course of my researches to supply my critical friend the late editor of Jonson, with the singular information. The great architect whose growing favour at Court made him somewhat jealous of pre-eminence, had

was a mathematical writer, and a lawyer who abridged the statutes.

treated slightingly the part which the great Poet had in these splendid miracles of art, and deeming his own work more important than the Bard's, he had insisted, against custom, that his name should appear in the title-page before that of Jonson. The point of etiquette could never be reconciled, but the predominant interest of Inigo Jones prevailed at Court, over the discarded poet, who was now not only an aged bard, but an old friend. Jonson under the influence of personal aggression, hurled his indignant invectives; and strange to observe how far madness may prevail over genius, when that genius becomes inebriated by the flattery it receives, Inigo Jones responded to the irritated poet in vile rhimes, which I found too inept to publish. This quarrel had produced a revolution in these Court-amusements, and the poetry of Jonson was to be supplied by those who would venture on it.

In every respect this splendid Pastoral was to be as courtly, as the cost was to be princely. The genius who was to compose the poetry was to be a courtier, the actresses were ladies of the highest rank, and the prime actress was to be her Majesty herself. It was the endless talk of the Court circle, and my Lord Cham-

berlain seemed to be out of his wits in giving his orders, declaring that "No chambermaid shall enter unless she will sit cross-legged on the top of a bulk; no great lady shall be kept out, though she have but mean apparel and a worse face; and no inferior lady or woman shall be let in, but such as have extreme brave apparel and better faces." Such was to be the enchanted audience of "Great Ladies."

The successor of old Jonson was a young courtier whose adherence to loyalty afterwards often appears in our history—Mr. Walter Montagu, one of the sons of the Lord Privy Seal. Their Majesties, while the young gentleman was indulging a most flowing vein, were amazed at the facility of writing verses; and one day meeting my Lord Privy-Seal, his Lordship was made happy to discover that his son was a favourite with Royalty, and in a fair way of making his fortune, for their Majesties both highly congratulated his Lordship "on the rare parts of Master Walter Montagu, his son, for poesy, and otherwise." As probably this was the first pastoral by Master Walter, the successor of Ben Jonson, unlike his great predecessor, did not know where to stop. Every part was so excessively long, no one knew how to shorten

any, and the young poet had no heart to prune even a tendril of his luxuriant genius. The Queen, as she conned her part, complained of its length, and "my Lady Marquis's" single part was "as long as an ordinary play." We may form some notion of the labour of our courtier-poet, for the representation lasted seven or eight hours! The disasters which must have happened in the progress of "The Queen's Pastoral" have not been chronicled, nor of those whose memory faltered through their interminable speeches, nor of those who remembered them too well. Eight hours!—but at Court they are accustomed to be happy, and to be wearied.*

One of the most extraordinary parts in the Queen's Pastoral was that of her Majesty. The Pastoral itself, which was in English, was designed not only for her Majesty's recreation, but "for the exercise of her English."† A striking evidence of Henrietta's zealous studies to gratify her husband. She had not only learned to speak but to write English, as several letters in her own hand attest, where the or-

* I have drawn all the particulars of "the Queen's Pastoral," from a variety of contemporary correspondence (1632) in the Harl. MSS. 7000.

† Ellis's Letters, Second Series, iii. 270.

thoepy is curiously formed by her foreign ear.* Some years after, we find that when the Parliament had frightened her away, and she intended departing, they petitioned her to remain in England, to which she graciously replied in a speech pronounced in English. The style might have been retouched by her English master, Wingate, who probably assisted her Majesty's elocution, but it was thought worthy to be preserved in the Journals of the Lords, and noted to have been *in hæc verba.* Henrietta closed it by saying "You will pardon the imperfectness of my English; I had rather have spoken in another language, but I thought this would be most acceptable." It is a curious fact, that Henrietta, in her eager desire to accustom herself to the English language, as her Royal consort wished, lost considerably, as Madame Motteville notices, her French idiom.

This picture of Charles in his intercourse with his Queen must reverse those preconceived notions which every reader of our history has entertained. If I have rightly discriminated "the malignant influence" of Henrietta, we may now ascertain its amount of evil. The fixed and systematic principles of the character

* See some in Evelyn's Diary, to Secretary Nicholas, and Ellis's Letters, First Series.

and government of her husband should no longer be imputed to the intrigues, or the influence, of a vivacious and volatile woman—they must be traced to a higher source, to his own inherited conceptions of his regal rights, contested, sometimes but not always, justly—if we seek for truth, and would read the history of human nature in the history of Charles the First.

We may account for this general charge coming from all quarters, and still re-echoed by our writers. To the gross eye of the public, who take their impressions of distant objects from their appearances, the uxoriousness of Charles was evident, but how they inferred that his passion for his Queen was necessarily connected with his political character can only be accounted for by the ease with which popular prejudices are fostered at unhappy moments. This odium was first industriously cast on the character of Charles by his enemies in order to make him contemptible; and his apologists, with Clarendon for their leader, found it not inconvenient to perpetuate this accusation, for they imagined that they had discovered in a weakness which had something amiable in it, and which removed to another victim so many

of his own faults, some palliation for the King's political errors.*

* I was gratified to find some time after this chapter was written that my notions of Henrietta's character are confirmed by Dr. Lingard in his History, x. 139. We are, I believe, the only writers who have developed this curious passage in the history of this period. May I flatter myself that Dr. Lingard has adopted my sentiments? Or has he only confirmed their truth? Several years before the volume of this historian appeared, I had given my ideas in Curiosities of Literature, first series, in the "Secret History of Charles I. and his Queen Henrietta." What the reader is now presented with, is a wider field of investigation, where what was before suggested, is farther opened, and the result more completely deduced.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE PERCY FAMILY. ALGERNON EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND AND THE COUNTESS OF CARLISLE.

It was the fate of Charles the First, and his Queen, to fix their most unreserved affections on the son and the daughter of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland; and two of the most fatal events of this reign originated in the disaffection of the son when he abandoned the fleet to the Parliament, and in the treachery of the daughter when she betrayed the Royal confidence at a critical moment of Charles's life, and on other occasions.

It is not always prejudice which induces us to conceive that a family-character is inherited. There was a taint in the blood of Northumberland, whose ancestors on more than one occasion had suffered on the scaffold. The per-

sonal feelings of renowned ancestors are transmitted through a long race. Ancestral pride comes at length to maintain what had only originated in the first impressions of filial sympathy. Not many years had elapsed since the father of Algernon, the present Earl of Northumberland, had been released from a long imprisonment in the Tower, where he had been confined on suspicion of having had some knowledge of the Powder Plot, and for harbouring one of the conspirators, his cousin Thomas Percy. This haughty Earl valued himself on the regal antiquity of his ancestry, tracing the paternal line from Charlemagne: Josceline, the son of Godfrey, Duke of Brabant, having married the heiress of Percy. The old Earl never forgave his daughter, the celebrated Countess of Carlisle, for her marriage with Lord Hay, afterwards Earl of Carlisle, one of the favourites of James the First. Him, he deemed too recently noble, and otherwise unworthy of his alliance, notwithstanding the princely magnificence of the Earl of Carlisle's domestic life, and the generous nature of the man, who had taken his celebrated but undowered daughter for his bride. The Earl of Northumberland had accepted with difficulty, the boon of his freedom, which had

lost its sweetness in coming from the hand of his son-in-law. It was this Earl of Northumberland who on learning that Buckingham drove six horses in his coach, immediately passed through the city in a coach and eight; this prouder novelty attracted the town's talk more towards the recent prisoner in the Tower, than the minister himself.

Algernon, Earl of Northumberland, who afterwards rose to the highest offices, both of honour and trust, was a young nobleman, who had been earnestly recommended by the Earl of Strafford to Charles. His dignified qualities were well adapted to win the tempered seriousness of his royal master. The descendant of a high-born race seemed no unfit companion for a King. Northumberland, in the haughtiness of early manhood, seemed to disdain the daily traffic of the compliant courtier. Solely connected with the King through the medium of his great friend Strafford, Northumberland seems to have stood insulated among the ministers. The reserve of his character and the formality of his habits, threw a coldness over the generous temper which we look for in a noble youth. But these were not disagreeable to Charles, who adopted this child of his hopes, to initiate him under his own eye,

through graduated honours, till the young Earl should be fitted for the highest offices, and worthy of his boundless confidence. Charles had indeed conceived for him the strongest personal affection, and this monarch was no niggard when he once showered the largess of his royal friendship.

There were, however, repulsive qualities latent in the breast of young Northumberland, which repeatedly developed themselves from his first entrance into active life to the day of his public defection. Although not a person of extensive capacity, he seems to have undervalued the abilities of the King, which were far superior to his own. When Lord-High-Admiral he conducted the navy of England without glory; and though he would not command the fleet against the King, he was willing to surrender it to the Parliamentarians. Twice when appointed Commander-in-chief, he was seized with "a dangerous indisposition." No sympathies could melt the coldness of his character; and his principles, perhaps inherited, led him to the popular party, some of whom were in his confidence. Northumberland, the most affluent of our nobility, was penurious in his loans to the King. He observes that "he had lent the King but five thousand pounds,

because he could not expect more from him, whose house hath in these latter ages received little or no advantage from the Crown."* We shall find on another occasion that this nobleman was a close calculator. It is evident that he had taken on himself the quarrel of the family with Royalty, by his evident allusion "to his house in these latter ages;" he means the heavy Star-Chamber fine, which his father had incurred in the former reign. Yet at this moment the Earl had reached the highest distinctions in the State; and his numerous titles and honours would spread over this page.

Northumberland was serving a master for whose service he felt no zeal; for whose honour he felt little concern; and whose friendship he rendered disastrous only to him who bestowed it. Among the desertion of those on whom Charles had showered his favours, and admitted into the privacy of friendship, the King felt no wound more deep than the defection of Northumberland. Charles exclaimed with tender regret, "I have courted him as a mistress; I have conversed with him as a friend!"

The Earl of Leicester, brother-in-law to the Earl of Northumberland, seems to have shared, in some degree, the dispositions of his family

* Sydney Papers.

affinity. He had been our ambassador in France, was made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and may be deemed as the philosophic friend of Charles; but his impartiality and his honour rendered him equally indecisive and indifferent; concurring with the Parliament, yet never disloyal to the Sovereign. In revolutionary times the steadiest friendships are often abruptly terminated; and the greatest minds, like more ordinary ones, submit to be the mere creatures of pressing events. The younger brother Henry Percy, who distinguished himself in the wild scheme called "The Army Plot," remained attached to his royal friends, and died an emigrant at Paris before the Restoration. But there was one of this great family of the Percies who perhaps may have influenced the fate of Charles, even more than Northumberland or Leicester—it was their sister, the much celebrated Countess of Carlisle.

Lucy Percy, Countess of Carlisle, was at the head of a class of females who have not yet been noticed in the history of these times.

We have already shown that the passion of Charles for his lovely Queen, and the personal influence of Henrietta, were imagined by their contemporaries to have been such, that this

Queen wholly regulated his conduct; that the uxorious King had recourse to her counsels, and that she ruled the Cabinet by governing the King; in a word, that Henrietta Maria was a great political character.

It is a curious fact, that so prevalent was this popular opinion, that it actually gave rise to a new race of ladies in this country, who may be described as Stateswomen. The Throne is the modeller of manners, and since the Queen was imagined to be so profound a politician, politics became the fashionable pursuit of aspiring ladies. As fashions travel from the Court to the country, it seems that even our rural ladies were deeply involved in political interests and in the government of their husbands, whenever those occupied some official station. An anecdote of a certain Sempronia we have given in our preceding chapter on the influence of the Queen over the King.

These lady-politicians were not the least active messengers nor the least adroit negotiators of both parties in these troubled times of political intrigue. Many of the favoured few presided at their cabinet councils, where if they did not always deliver their sentiments, they had the pleasure of being let into those of the leaders of parties. We know that Lady Au-

bigny was safely delivered of a box of conspiracy called "Waller's plot," which proved fatal to some, and would have to herself, had she not as dexterously conveyed herself away. Her Ladyship was an adept in cipher, and in deciphering; an admirable letter-carrier, for with a woman's fancy, she curled up a secret correspondence within her own curls; curls often admired for their luxuriance but more particularly for their size. She contrived conferences between persons who by the remoteness of their locality, or their want of personal acquaintance, had never imagined that they should ever have been brought into collision. As her Ladyship happened to be an acquaintance of Lord Clarendon, we gather more particulars than we find about other political ladies, who appear not to have been less active or less ingenious. These stateswomen were living in a continued fever of state secrets. An ingenuous anecdote told by Lady Fanshaw, with her extreme simplicity, describes their peculiar situation. Her husband being then Secretary of State at Oxford, Lady Rivers, a friend of Lady Fanshaw, one day touched on the knowledge of state affairs, observing how some women were very happy in acquiring it; such as Lady Aubigny, Lady Isabel Thynne,

and divers others, "but none, Lady Rivers thought, could be more capable than the wife of the Secretary of State." And, added the fair communicator, "this very night came a post from Paris from the Queen; and her Ladyship would be extremely glad to learn what the Queen commanded the King. If Lady Fanshaw would ask her husband privately he would tell what he found in the packet, and then Lady Fanshaw might tell her." All this was very easy to do, and Lady Fanshaw was very innocent. Imagining, that "to inquire into public affairs being a fashionable thing might make her more beloved by her husband," she watched Sir Richard on his return from council with his papers. Her peering, startled him; her earnest inquiry raised a smile; her pouting he kissed away; her sulkiness at supper, and the renewed intreaty on retiring to rest, her reproach the next morning that "he loved her not;" all he had borne, till at the close, the good sense of Sir Richard spoke out, perfectly satisfying Lady Fanshaw that "he had no other secrets to conceal from her, but his Prince's."

Had Lucy Countess of Carlisle, in some light memoirs which only a stateswoman could freely sketch, told us, in the felicitous style of saying

the best things in the fewest words, which it is said she excelled in, all the thoughts of the extraordinary personages whom she so intimately knew; had she narrated those changeful events, in which she herself had taken so active a part, we should have now possessed the most interesting secret history of the reign of Charles the First—with its appendix, the early years of the Protectorate.

But so far from recording the acts of others, she has not left us a word about herself. Her nonchalance seems to have exceeded her egotism; and she who was the disturber of a nation appears only to have viewed the mischievous efforts as they influenced her own circle. It is rather by good fortune, than by successful research that I am enabled to create a real personage out of the mysterious and shadowy apparition which sometimes glides into our history, and whom Warburton has expressively designated as "The Erinnys of her Times."

Lady Carlisle, in whose veins flowed the blood of princely races, and the blood which had been tainted by treason, was at once the equal companion of sovereigns, and the most dangerous of subjects. She too was very beautiful—but she would not have become an

important personage in our history had she not aimed at something beyond rank and beauty. Lady Carlisle seems to have conceived a fancy of surrounding herself by a higher order of society than she could find in the mediocrity of the court-circle; and busying herself in political life, with the advantage of being placed so close to the Queen, at once her confident and her spy, she moved in a world of political intrigues, and from Whitehall to the two Houses, held the invisible chain of human events. By what dexterity, or fortune, she escaped from the ruin of all the parties with whom she was concerned, we probably shall never learn. It is perhaps a woman's privilege to convince the most opposite parties that she is earnestly concerned for them; she can practise on the weak and the unsuspicious; and she has in reserve for the more penetrating minds, the eye that melts into persuasion, and the voice which confirms their hopes.

The Countess of Carlisle was a beautiful dowager in 1636. This time is the commencement of the busiest period of the present reign. Her Ladyship was now mistress of herself, and adoring that self; it was now that she opened her remarkable career. Waller, one

of her admirers, has painted the Countess in mourning,

"A Venus rising from a sea of jet."

The Queen of Charles the First was fascinated by the Countess; for I think it appears that the Queen was aware that the Countess had betrayed her famous state-secret in the very heat of its confidence. One would imagine that this might have interrupted their friendship; and yet, by the manuscripts of the French Resident here in 1644, which I have examined, I find the Countess in secret communication with the Queen's party at Paris, requesting the French Resident to convey letters from her brother Percy to the Queen in France; and still later in 1648 the Countess was in Henrietta's full confidence.* The treachery of the Countess to the Queen had not however shown

* The intercourse of the French Resident with Lady Carlisle was frequent. Conversing with her Ladyship on her brother the Earl of Northumberland being appointed Governor to the little Duke and the Princess with an allowance of 16,000*l.* per annum, (he should have said 3000*l.* according to Whitelocke, 137,) the Countess observed that she did not know that her brother had any reason to be pleased, considering the nature of that perilous office. The fate of their great-grandfather the Protector was then the town-talk.—*MSS. of Sabran.*

itself on a single occasion. When Lord Holland became a malcontent, from the King's refusal of granting him the disposal of a Barony, which he might have sold to some worthless aspirant for ten thousand pounds, it was the Countess of Carlisle who furnished Lord Holland with all the words and actions of her thoughtless royal friend; applying every malicious construction, and drawing the widest inferences, that Lord Holland might make terms with the Parliament, by the services they best liked; criminating the unguarded remissness of an inconsiderate Queen, who would say more than she thought, and do more than she was aware she had done. Henrietta never forgave these domestic treacheries of Lord Holland, who had been one of her favourites. She declared that "she would never live in the Court if he kept his places there." Holland was discarded from his office of First Gentleman of the Bedchamber. He seems to have betrayed the King when a General of the Horse in the Scottish war. Yet this unhappy man, repeatedly changing sides, suffered for his loyalty, yet offering to serve again the Parliament would they have accepted him! His terror was to live in poverty.

The Countess had been so confidential a per-

son, that she was admitted to be present at all the consultations held to save the life of Strafford. That Earl, in the selected circle of the Countess was then her favourite. Her strenuous exertions, at times, seemed to have been successful, but she never forgave the King, or the Queen, for their irresolution and their terror. She hardly concealed her deep resentment, it is said, even her contempt. From this moment of her violent indignation, I would date the commencement of that series of treacheries which subsequently proved so fatal to her royal friends. I would not ascribe too great a proportion of gratuitous maliciousness to our "Erinnys."

Extremes were her passions. She who had thus, in her mind, for ever quarrelled with a King and a Queen, for her favourite Strafford, not long afterwards became an equal admirer of his remorseless enemy. She had usually been inattentive to "the public exercises of religion." As what then was considered to be "the true religion," entered into the gossip of the day, and even into the private correspondence of letter-writers, and combined, as it was, with the politics of the times, whether a person entered the parochial church, or the Scotch conventicle, was not an affair of indifference.

Suddenly the Countess became Puritanic, and took notes at long sermons; and the Scandalous Chronicle has announced that Master Pym was placed in the situation of the Earl of Strafford.* The intercourse between the parties was intimate; and the interior of Whitehall was always better known to Pym, than that of the Commons was to Charles the First.

The select circle of the Countess of Carlisle was a prominent object in that day. It was a particular sort of a coterie; though its character seems to have been chiefly of a political cast, yet the men of wit, and genius, and gallantry, were stars in this galaxy. There were literary men, if the few of that day may be so distinguished; but the great number consisted of leading members in both Houses, and of the heads of the Scotch party, of eminent foreigners, and particularly of ambassadors, and other foreign residents; and with this latter class the Countess appears to have held an extraordinary intercourse. Persons who had a name to make, ambitioned the *entrées* to this envied circle, sure to find in the *société* of the Countess of Carlisle, those men in the country on whom they had placed their hopes, or who had attracted their admiration. It is to be regretted

* Sir Philip Warwick, 204.

that such a circle has left no trace of its existence; and that the celebrated female who presided in it, was not her own perpetual secretary. Some idea of the Countess's "chamber" may be formed by the picture which one of its haunters has transmitted to us in his pleasing verses.

"The high in titles, and the shepherd here,
Forgets his greatness and forgets his fear.
The gay, the wise, the gallant, and the grave,
Subdued alike, all but one passion have.
No worthy mind but finds in her's there is
Something proportioned to the rule of his:
While she with cheerful but impartial grace
(Born for no one, but to delight the race
Of men) like Phœbus so divides her light,
And warms us, that she stoops not from her height.*

Something more we may learn of what was passing in the circle of the Countess by a letter of the Earl of Exeter which I discovered among the Conway papers. Though the noble writer, in the affected style of the complimentary effusions of that day, strained his fancy and his gallantry, we are enabled to form some idea of the entertainment to which his Lordship was accustomed, in "the Lodgings at Court" of the Countess. The manners of her Ladyship seem sketched after life.

* Waller.

"MADAM,

"The night is the mother of dreams and fantoms, the winter is the mother of the night, all this mingled with my infirmities, have protracted this homage so due and so vowed to your Ladyship, lest the fume and vapours so arising should contaminate my so sacred and pure an intention. But much more pleasure it were to me to perform this duty in your Lodging at Court, when you see your perfections in the glass, adding perfection to perfection, approving the *bon-mots* there spoken in your presence, moderating the excess of compliments; passing over a dull jest without a sweet smile; giving a wise answer to an extravagant question. But why do I regret these absent pleasures and find defects in my condition, since it pleased God so to determine; were I young again I should be a most humble suitor that you would be pleased to vouchsafe that your lodging might be my academie, quitting to the rest both Italy and France. I expect now within few days the approach of the violets, from whence I begin to entertain better thoughts with hope to enjoy the first and latter presents of the year. But when all is said that can be said, and all is writ that can be writ, your perfections put in the weight of

true judgment, weigh down all other delights. In the mean time afford your servant the honour of your bonne grace, and so I rest according to custom

"Your Ladyship's
most humble and
passionate servant,
EXETER."

Could we turn over the visiting-book of the Countess, we should discover a numberless catalogue of men of genius and gallantry. The fanciful poet, and the ancient gallant, who have borne their testimony to the charms of the *société* of the Countess, belong to a large class. Sir Toby Matthews, a refined gentleman of the day, has offered a portrait which, however fantastical, may still bear some remarkable resemblances; and Donne has addressed the Countess with the celestial flattery of a poetical Divine. But such persons who sought fame or pleasure, by admission into the favoured circle, must not be imagined to have been initiated into the higher mysteries; for

* I have printed the letter according to modern orthography, for the convenience of the reader. The Earl writes in the last line, *boun grasse;* formerly they regulated their orthography by their orthoepy.

mysteries there were in the Esoteric doctrines for the adepts. The phases of "the Chamber" were mutable. In the Countess's interviews with Lord Holland and the Earl of Essex, with Hollis, with Pym, and some of the Commonwealth-men of Cromwell, other matters were agitated than subjects fitted for the *vers de société* of the poet, or the elaborate fancies of a gouty Reminiscent; other matters than "dull jests at which she would not cast a sweet smile; extravagant questions wisely answered, and an approval of bon-mots." The "Academie" as the travelled Earl of Exeter distinguishes her "Chamber," was open to the select, but the "Cabinet councils," where her ladyship presided, were solely opened for the elect.

In the manuscript negotiations of Sabran, the French resident in England in 1644 and 1645, I found frequent mention of this active agent's intercourse with Lady Carlisle. The following passage, which I translate literally, is from a dispatch of Sabran's to the Count de Brienne, the Secretary of State. Sabran was at that moment distant from London, following Charles with his army in 1644. It tells a great deal about the Countess.

"The Countess of Carlisle has sent to me to say how much she rejoices at my coming; that

the Chancellor of Scotland had visited her, and had solemnly declared to her, that he has come to assist in settling a peace, and not for the purpose of ruining the King of Great Britain, nor royalty. She assures me that she had penetrated into his real designs, and she had dined with four Lords of the Upper House, who on this subject had avowed their desire of peace, and the re-establishment of the person and the affairs of the King." Here we discover that Lady Carlisle was the centre point of communication with the Chancellor of Scotland, the French Resident, and some of our Peers. We see that even in the times of Charles the First they gave diplomatic dinners, though it is still rare to find a lady at the head of the table, not however that our modern secret history has not furnished some instances. Shortly after this dispatch, I discovered the French Resident at Lady Carlisle's house, where he found Lord Holland, and by appointment met Hollis, and the Lieutenant-General of the cavalry, the Earl of Essex. Both these eminent men were well-disposed, and greater in reputation than ever with the Commons. The Resident details the important communications which passed between the parties on subjects deeply interesting in our history. All this confidential

intercourse on the most secret and delicate investigations, passed before the Countess, and her house was always the place of appointment. Her Ladyship's politics at this moment, had a tendency towards the King's restoration; but what we are more concerned to learn, is, that Lady Carlisle must have been deep in the councils of that day, when we perceive that the great political actors assembled at her call, and communicated by her means.

In the history of a female, that of her person forms a part. Granger has said of Lady Carlisle, that "she appears in the poems of Waller to much greater advantage than she does in the portrait of Vandyck. It was not so much the beauty of the lady, as the sprightliness of her wit, and the charms of her behaviour that rendered her an object of general admiration." Either Granger was not very sensible to beauty, or the portrait he had seen had faded and lost its likeness; for, a very good judge, as we shall shortly see, thought more highly of her beauty, than of her wit or her talents. We would not decide on female beauty by the black and white of the graver, since a woman's loveliness lives in the motion of far different colours. But even in Lombart's hard engraving, we are struck by the majesty of the figure. We may

imagine voluptuousness in those eyes, with something like pensiveness; and a physiognomist would not find it difficult to detect a marked sense of self-sufficiency in the decided features of her noble countenance.

But what was the real genius of this celebrated woman? What the extent of her capacity, which had such an influence over the greatest characters of the age?

Let us take the unbiassed opinion of a very intelligent foreigner, the French Secretary of State, the Count de Brienne. Her Ladyship had been personally known to the Count some years past, when De Brienne had been in more than one embassy to England; we have referred to his own published memoirs in our preceding volumes. De Brienne was a person of very lively discernment, and as Secretary of State, he was now holding the correspondence with Sabran. Replying to the dispatch of the Resident, the Secretary of State thus notices Lady Carlisle. "The lady, at whose house you assembled, formerly piqued herself on her great beauty and her great talents; years must have carried off the one, but I doubt if they have acquired for her the latter of these qualities. Let us know however what you can penetrate, and the means you judge which we are to

adopt." It is evident that a very able judge of persons had formed no very favourable notion of Lady Carlisle's superiority of talents; but he had seen her, and he remembered that she was beautiful.

We have a literary portrait of Lady Carlisle, finished with care, but in a very bad taste. It was composed by one intimate with his original; and through the affectation of his style, many a delicate trait may be recovered. The character of the Countess of Carlisle by Sir Toby Matthews is hyperbolical and fantastic, but she herself bore some resemblance to her limner. A caricature may be reduced into a natural resemblance, by softening down its protrusions. I shall endeavour to translate Sir Toby Matthews's ideas, into plainer language, adopting his own present tense.

The Countess of Carlisle, with a high mind and dignity, neither seeking, nor desirous of any friendship, is pleased to surround herself with persons of eminent condition, both of power and employments; because she chooses to know only the fortunate, for with her, fortune is virtue and fame. Even her domestic affections are restricted. Those who are removed from her presence must not hope to live in her recollections; they are currents running

too distant to participate in any warmth from her kindness.

She prefers the conversation of men to that of women; not but that she can talk on the fashions with her female friends, but she is too soon sensible that she can set them as she wills; that pre-eminence shortens all equality.

She converses with those who are most distinguished for their conversational powers. Her civility seems universal; she likes to show what she can do, but cares not to indulge her nature too long among those who have nothing very extraordinary or new in themselves. She is apt, though in good-humour, to keep at a distance; and suddenly to discover scorn, when you are fancying love.

Yet of love freely will she discourse; listen to all its fancies, and mark all its power; but she ceases to comprehend them when boldly addressed to herself. She cannot love in earnest, but she will play with love, while love remains a child; she dismisses him as a master.

She has too great a heart to suffer any inclination for another; she has therefore no passions; but as she is not unwilling to find some entertainment to while away the hours, she will seem to take a deep interest for persons of condition and celebrity; yet this being but a com-

pulsion on her nature, withdrawing herself too much from herself, she usually returns ill satisfied with others.

She has not within herself, those little tendernesses which she will not allow to others; surely she mistakes her own heart by not exercising it more frequently. She holds as her surest defence, the insensibility of her nature; this is like giving denials before solicitations; or like proclamations which forbid what may happen, and then if they be disobeyed it is to be upon peril.

You may fear to be less valued by her, for obliging her; for should she think that your courtesy be merely the habit of your mind, and not a spontaneous emotion excited by herself, in this case, she is so unjust that she would bestow favours and services on strangers who cast themselves on her generosity, in preference to those who might urge stronger claims, but who have not equally flattered her self-love.

She delivers her opinions of persons freely, rather with an intention to show her understanding than from any disdain of the persons themselves; but as in most of us, there is more to be reformed than commended, her judgment is too apt to detect the imperfections which we flatter ourselves we can conceal.

This lady, whom both Fortune and Nature have richly adorned, is not without a sense or a contentment of both; but as Fortune can never give her so much as Nature has bestowed on her, she joys most in the perfection of her person. She is more esteemed than beloved by her own sex; her beauty putting their faces out of countenance, as her wit their minds.

She is so great a lover of variety, that when she cannot find it among those about her, she will remove into her own thoughts; or change her opinions even of those persons most considered by her, till after this entertainment she will settle them again into their former places.

She has elevated thoughts, carrying her mind above any thing within her knowledge; she deems nothing more worthy of her consideration than her own imaginations; and when she is alone, she will make something worthy of her liking, since she finds nothing in the world worthy of her loving.

The felicity of her language is in her expressions, and in few words, adding little to the substance, but infinitely to the manner.

She affects extremes, because she cannot endure any mediocrity of plenty and glory. Were she not in possession of this certainty,

she would fly to the other extreme of retirement. She could submit to be obscure, but she must be magnificent. Her physicians told her that she was inclined to melancholy; their opinion was its remedy by the mirth it affords her; she thinks herself cheerful, but her noble heart is ambitious—to what end? for she is so far from the want of any thing that it would be a hard study, and therefore painful for her, to imagine a desire!

Such is the portrait of the Countess of Carlisle, which Granger has grossly depreciated as "Sir Toby Matthews's fantastic character." Many refined strokes show that the limner had studied his original by her side; and it seems to have admitted as much of nature as her Ladyship allowed to enter into her dispositions.

Another exquisite judge of the female character, who must have been familiar with the secret history of this Countess, was St. Evremond; and he has alluded to her on a particular occasion. His patroness, the beautiful Duchess of Mazarine, came to England to regulate by her charms the state policy of our voluptuous Monarch. Suddenly she betrayed the weakness of the sex, in a violent passion for the youthful Prince of Monaco, then at

the English court. Charles the Second, impatient at this odious rivalry, was mean enough to suspend her pension. As St. Evremond was in the secret of her mission, he perceived that all was thrown into disorder by this little Prince. The Adonis, in perfect devotion, was incessantly practising his enthralling gallantries—*les petits soins*—watching an open window, or shutting a door, presenting a basket of ribbons, or drawing on a glove, bearing, in triumph, an Indian fan, or adjusting the flow of her tresses. Thus, at every hour, riveting the passion of the lovely and lost Mazarine. On this occasion, St. Evremond in despair, more certain of being read than listened to, addressed to the Duchess an Essay on Friendship. There he displayed his own personal sacrifices, and his grief for the famous Fouquet, thus insinuating himself into her confidence; he confessed, however, that no friendship is comparable with that of a female gifted with beauty, with talents, and with sense, could one be certain that it would last! Adroitly passing to the political character this lady had to perform, he observed, that "it had often surprised him why women were excluded from the conduct of affairs, for he had known many enlightened and able as any men. But this exclusion has neither origi-

nated in our jealousy nor our interests, nor in any indifferent opinion of their genius; it is merely because we find their hearts are too weak, too inconstant, too subject to the frailty of their nature. Monsieur le Cardinal (Mazarine) once said, 'A woman who governs a kingdom prudently to-day, will take a master to-morrow not fit to govern a poultry-yard.' What might not Madame de Chevreuse, and the Countess of Carlisle, have accomplished, had they not spoilt, by the infirmities of the heart, all that they had obtained by their mind? Ninon de l'Enclos said to me once, that she returned God thanks every night for her judgment, and prayed every morning to be preserved from the follies of her heart." It is superfluous to add that the amusing ethics of our Epicurean philosopher were greatly admired, and the little Prince of Monaco was every day more and more caressed.

For our purpose we learn, by the confession of this contemporary, that it is evident the Countess of Carlisle amidst her busy political intrigues had fallen short of his views as a great stateswoman, and had failed, from becoming the dupe of her heart, lost amidst irresistible passions. The reported mistress of Strafford and Pym must have betrayed an extraordinary

susceptibility, which, probably, often sought for its own security in an insensibility to ordinary aspirants.

We perceive in Lady Carlisle a mind ambitious of higher results than she ever attained to: St. Evremond hints at this, and De Brienne considered her beauty more remarkable than her talents. The perfect self-complacency of this beautiful idol of rank and fashion, amidst her splendid circle of the first men of the age, was no doubt kept alive by the verses of poets who gazed on her personal attractions, and by the admiration of men on whom her rank reflected honour, while they knew to profit by her peculiar station at Court. Placed in the centre of this circle of excellence and greatness, her own genius remained in its mediocrity; for among such men, and such events, as she had witnessed, her mind seems to have wanted the vigour, and never once to have felt the impulse, to perpetuate even the work of her own hand, which, doubtless, she sometimes flattered herself she was contemplating. Often, with a cold heart, she sought the devotion, and sported with the fancies of love; little sensible to real merit, she only admitted the fortunate into her presence; those whom she most admired, were most liable to fall in her opinion,

for in one of those moody reveries that she often indulged, she would compare them—with herself! Her conceit, her self-idolatry, were too abstract for sympathy; in their elevation they remained even undisturbed by the insolence of a libeller!

But all we have said still leaves us uninformed how this beautiful stateswoman obtained so powerful an influence in the political state of the times. She has kept her own secret. I have tracked her in some of her active movements—Warburton has boldly designated her—yet her history remains unwritten!

CHAPTER IX.

THE CORONATION IN SCOTLAND.

CHARLES from his accession had annually renewed his promise of a visit to his native Scotland and a Coronation in his ancient capital. The unsettled state of home-affairs, and possibly that of his exchequer, had retarded this royal inauguration; but the delay of the long-promised appearance of the Sovereign was felt as neglect, and even reviled as mockery, by his remote subjects. The ancient jealousy of the two nations had been rekindled rather than allayed by their common union; and the people who had lost their own court, and had never seen their own Sovereign, when they resorted to their happier partner, shared only in those national unkindnesses which lowered "the blue bonnets" into obtruders or dependants; and tales and songs, proverbs and jibes, flew about of "the bonny Scot made a gen-

tleman."* The confidential domestics of the Royal father and the son were however Scots, and Charles to the last retained his affection for his countrymen; yet it was from them that the bewitching model of insurgency was held out to England. The patronage however which healed the wounded pride of the Caledonian irritated the feverish interests of the Englishman. To assert the national dignity of Scotland, Charles once proposed that its Crown should be transferred to England, and here, in a second coronation, be solemnly placed on his head; but the Scottish Lord, the keeper of this Regalia, declared that he durst not be

* Ritson among his collections of "The North Country Chorister." Some curious anecdotes were current in that day of the subtilty of the Scots, indicative of the temper of the times. Sir Toby Matthews had one of a Scotchman without a cloak, travelling with an Englishman in the rain, who sitting by the side of the Scotchman in the boot of a coach, gave him a flap of his coat; at the end of the journey the Scotchman had, little by little, got all the Englishman's cloak on his own shoulders. They had a saying in France of the Scotch Halberdiers, "Si vous lui permettez de mettre son Hallebarde dans votre porte, en peu de jours il se rendra maitre de votre Maison."—These anecdotes are found in the papers of Robert the second Earl of Leicester, in 1636; so careful was the Earl to treasure up his jealousy of the envied favourites of Charles the First.

false to his trust; yet would his Majesty be pleased to accept of it in the land of his fathers, he would find his people ready to yield him the highest honours; "but if the crown was not worth a progress, there might be some other way of disposing of it." The Scottish Council were not less strenuous in their style. When a toleration, in some degree, for the Catholics was in agitation, and the old Marquis of Huntley, who was an hereditary sheriff, in concert with some Earls, neglected to attend to the letter of the Council, to suppress the Papists, they incurred the expatriating punishment of what the Scotch termed "a horning." The herald at arms thrice winded his horn, each time summoning the Marquis and the Earls, who not appearing, were proclaimed rebels; and to escape from the Council the old Marquis and his colleagues took their instant flight to the English Court. The Council of Scotland had decided that, "when the King comes to be crowned amongst us, he will, we doubt not, be sworn to our laws; meanwhile as we are entrusted with them, we will look they be observed."*

Such lofty remonstrances had often reminded Charles that his appearance in his ancient and

* Hamon L'Estrange, p. 129, second edition.

native kingdom became daily more urgent; and there were other deeper motives which hastened the journey.

In Scotland an usurping aristocracy equally oppressed the Sovereign and the People. The heaviest grievance of the Scottish people was then, the tyranny of their feudal nobility. Weak or unprincipled Regents, preceding and during the minority of James the First, had not only seized upon or shared among their adherents the patrimony of the Church, but had wrested from the Crown some of its inalienable rights in the regalities and tithes which had been annexed to the Crown by Parliament. An Act of Revocation of these illegal grants had been proposed by Charles, and the Earl of Nithisdale had been sent to open the Royal commission, but had he proceeded, the lords, to use Burnet's style, had resolved, "to fall upon him and all his party in the old Scottish manner, and knock them on the head." An anecdote of the times, reveals a striking instance of this feudal rancour and barbarous greatness. Belhaven, an old blind lord, prayed to be seated by the Earl of Dumfries, one of the Nithisdale party, that he might make sure of him, which he seemed to do by grasping him hard with one hand; on Dum-

fries remonstrating with his troublesome neighbour, the old Lord excused himself observing that since his blindness he was ever in fear of falling; meanwhile his other hand clutched a dagger ready to plunge into his companion's breast on the first commotion.* The insatiable rapacity of the fathers was now to be maintained by the insolent tenacity of the sons. Such was the volcanic soil which Charles was about to tread, and the subterranean fires were ready to burst out.

These were the cares of State brooding in the Royal breast, not yet opened to the world. At this time Clarendon describes* Charles the First "as finding himself possessed of that tranquillity, by which he had no reason to apprehend any enemies from abroad and less any insurrections at home; and he resolved to make a progress to the North and be solemnly crowned in his kingdom of Scotland."† In the year 1633, England appeared to be a happy land—faction seemed to sleep—and peace guarded our coasts.

The King's intended progress to Scotland had furnished a topic for conversation, and the public mind had been prepared to meet the Royal wishes, that this great national visit

* Burnet's Memoirs, i. 34. † Clarendon, ii. 162.

should be graced by all the splendour and pomp of England; but it was not less known that his Exchequer was ill provided for the charge. The King invited the chief of his nobility to attend his Court, but required them to join him at their own charge. At that moment the fervour of loyalty vied with the pride of magnificence. In May, the gorgeous train set forward, and we owe to the resident correspondent of the Mercure François, the names of the English nobility who accompanied the King, each of whom brought from forty to sixty gentlemen and as many led horses richly caparisoned; he adds, what seems excessive in number, that more than five thousand volunteers joined the Royal cavalcade.

The splendour of the present progress had not hitherto been equalled in our annals. The northern road presented one continued scene of sumptuous festivals in the ruinous hospitality of those whose seats were opened to this travelling Court. Houses were enlarged, and state was assumed by some never before seen in their generations, and the feasting or banquetting particularly at Welbeck by the Earl of Newcastle, (which was however far exceeded the following year,) at Raby Castle the seat of the Vanes, and at Durham by Bishop Mor-

ton; were carried to such an excess that Lord Clarendon according to his notion traces the seeds of the commotions of a subsequent period to the heavy debts which the nobility and the gentry incurred by their unlimited expenditure. Nor is this opinion of Clarendon, as it would seem, at all preposterous; for Lord Newcastle acknowledged to the Earl of Strafford that, as well as my Lord of Carlisle, he had hurt his estate much with waiting on the King in his Scottish journey. "Not to be sick in mind, body, and purse, with this weight of debt upon me, I know no diet better than a strict diet in the country which in time may recover me of the prodigal diseases."

A royal progress had always been considered as a great annoyance to the individuals who had the costly honour of entertaining the Sovereign. It seemed to be a test as well as a tax of loyalty. It was sometimes contrived not to be at home on these occasions; a contemporary of one of the progresses of James the First writes "The progress holds on towards Northamptonshire, as unwelcome in those parts as rain in harvest, so as the great ones begin to *remuer mesnage* and to dislodge; the Lord Spenser to his daughter Vane in Kent, and

Strafford's Letters, i. 101.

divers other gentlemen devise other errands other ways."* Some however, in office, were jealous to obtain the distinction of a royal visit, though they grudged the cost. Sir Julius Cæsar in some short memorials of himself, while he proudly chronicles a progress of Queen Elizabeth and laments over "five former disappointments" mortifies his pride by calculating the result. Some of my readers may be amused by the recital. "The Queen visited me at my house at Mitcham and supped lodged and dined there the next day. I presented her with a gown of cloth of silver richly embroidered, a black net-work mantle with pure gold, a white taffeta hat with several flowers, and a jewel of gold set therein with rubies and diamonds. Her Majesty removed from my house after dinner to Nonsuch with exceeding good countenance—which entertainment of her Majesty with the charges of five former disappointments, amounted to seven hundred pounds sterling, besides mine own provisions and whatever was sent unto me by my friends." Sir Julius must have acted prudently notwithstanding, for some of these royal visits cost many thousand pounds to some of

* Sloane MSS. 4173. Chamberlain's Letters.

the nobility. This prodigality of the nobility was perhaps one great source of the prosperity of those inferior classes of the nation, who were advancing in influence, and wealth, and at no distant day, mingled with the burgesses of Parliament. In proportion as the nobility exhausted their revenues, they promoted the future independence of the class of citizens.

On their entrance into Scotland the magnificence was redoubled, the prodigality was exhaustless; the emulation of two nations, like opposing flames which mingle into one, now blazed in union. The Scottish nobility vied in the richness of their equipages, and the grandeur of their state. The poorer nation were not unwilling to ruin themselves, provided the scoffers of their poverty were confuted by a single and fatal triumph. A whole nation is subject to an aberration of mind, when a sudden contagion prevails.

On the King's entrance into Scotland the English resigned their places to those of the Scots, who by their titles, or offices, were entitled to hold them; the tables were kept up with renewed profusion, the splendour of the state was augmented, and the new guests were

received in a struggle of generous courtesies. "The King appeared with no less lustre at Edinburgh than at Whitehall."

When Charles made his public entry into Edinburgh, at the Western-gate, he was attended by the Lord Provost and all the dignified citizens and about three hundred of the flower of Scotland in white satin, with rich doublets, with their partisans and other arms. As the King passed, many a well-devised pageant arrested the acclamations of the people, by their elegant harangues or poetical invocations. In the magnificent spectacle, whatever charm the music, the poetry, and the painting of the times could awaken, were accompanied by the congratulatory or the pathetic sentiments, and the expressive gestures of the actors. The most extraordinary pageant detained them at the Tolbooth, where, personified, the long line of one hundred and eight Scottish monarchs was ranged from Fergus the First, who in a prophetical oration announced that the future line from Charles would not be less numerous. The courtly flattery and the populous shout died away together, but the speeches from the planets, the song of the Muses and the lay of Caledonia—still live for

those who will seek them in the poems of Drummond of Hawthornden.*

The romantic city, favoured by Nature for the refulgent parade, and lengthened procession, is described at this time as consisting but of a single street, spacious as it seemed to them; and seated on the declivity of the side of a hill, stretching out a mile in length, from the Castle to Holyrood-house. The King, going in state to his coronation, issued from the Castle followed by all his nobility, riding through the city to the Palace, where he was to be crowned. The eye of the spectator could pursue the glorious pomp at once from the first to the last, through one vast moving line. The glory of the Monarch now seemed the pride of his rejoicing subjects; a burst of loyalty

* The speech of Caledonia representing the kingdom, has these nervous lines. She

"Yet in this corner of the world doth dwell,
With her pure sisters Truth, Simplicity;
A Mars' adoring brood is here, their wealth
Sound minds and bodies of as sound a health;
Walls here are Men"—

There is a collection of Greek, Latin and English verses. Some of the poems are highly poetical. The volume is entitled ΕΙΣΟΙΑ Musarum Edinensium in Caroli Regis Musarum Tutani ingressu in Scotiam. Edinburgi, 1633.

broke forth from the many whose eyes dwelt with affection on the person of their Sovereign, then held sacred—and the Scottish coronation for a moment might have effaced from the recollections of Charles, the almost private, and less honoured coronation of his England.

We however must pause amidst the shouts, the festivals and the triumphs of this day. Could the inaugurated Sovereign surmise even in his most thoughtful moments, that this very population at no distant day, were to turn from him with the same impetuosity they now followed his courser? When the King counted these waves of the multitude rolling on, and beheld the regal state which seemed to fortify his power, could he yet feel that the reality of this passing grandeur was but a phantom of glory? Assuredly there was not yet in Scotland a solitary Judas who was calculating the blood-money of his Monarch; an enormous treason could not yet seduce their hopes; yet among the servile million, we are told, there were countenances which but ill-concealed their secret designs; and murmurs and sedition were amidst the pomp and the triumph.

Kings indeed by drawing their notions from their own circle acquire but a very restricted knowledge of men, and of affairs. James and

Charles, in the love of their father-land, had scattered their bounties on Scotchmen resident at their Court, but the Scottish nation only considered these, as private obligations conferred on persons who had the least influence in their own country. On the contrary those who affected popularity on the King's arrival, and were most suspected by Charles, whenever the King appeared in public would attend near his person, obtruded themselves on his notice, amused him by their conversation, or attracted his attention to objects new to him. By their confidence and officiousness, they impressed a notion on the populace that they enjoyed the royal favour.

Charles, whose manners were stately and formal at all times, could not however repulse these new companions. Lord Falkland quaintly observed on such obtruders, that "keeping of State was like committing adultery, there must go two to it;" on which Lord Clarendon, a stern advocate for court-etiquette, makes a curious reflection; "A bold and confident man, instantly demolishes the whole machine of State by getting within it, however the most formal man may resolve to keep his distance."

Thus the King discovered that of all his personal friends, not one was recognised by the

people but the Marquis of Hamilton, whose ambidextrous and ambiguous conduct was even then suspected; the novel friendships of his enemies were more suspicious and more to be feared.

The Coronation was followed by a Parliament. The irritated spirits of the Aristocracy, who not long afterwards triumphed, were not then inactive. On the very day that the King made his entry into Edinburgh, the Earl of Rothes, afterwards one of the leaders of the Covenant, undertook timely in the morning to hasten to Dalkeith, to inform his Majesty that a petition to his Majesty and the Parliament had been drawn up for redress of all their grievances, but before it was delivered to the Clerk Register of the Parliament it was deemed decent first to show it privately to the King. Charles having read this extraordinary petition returned it to Rothes, sternly saying, "No more of this, my Lord! I command you!"* The petition in consequence at that moment was suppressed,—but it was not destroyed. Charles probably did not foresee that this very petition was the seed of that future rebellion which not many years after was to carry in-

* Bishop Guthry's Memoirs, 9.

surrection through his kingdoms. This early mode of his reception in Scotland, must however have reminded Charles of his former unhappy meetings with his English Parliaments.

The same Earl of Rothes even ventured to accuse the Clerk-registers of making a false return of the votes.* The resistance and difficulty with which matters passed, could only have been overcome by the personal interference of the King, who on that day had a list of the names of the Lords as they were called up; observing, "I shall know to-day who shall do me service." In this manner a forced and momentary success was obtained, while the seeds of future commotion were deeply sown in the soil.†

Hume in following Clarendon was not well informed of the Scottish affairs. "No one, says he, "could have suspected from exterio appearances that such dreadful scenes were ap proaching." Yet some contemporary historian were not insensible to the strength of the risin party.

In the bold scheme Charles meditated t break down the arbitrary power of the nobility the measure could not be disagreeable to th

* Brodie, ii. 419.

† L'Estrange, 131.—Kennett.

people, but the design of restoring Prelacy itself in this land of Presbyters, was raising up all those evil spirits which were soon to marshal themselves in array. It was often the fate of Charles to be prompted by a right motive, but to be swayed by a false suggestion. By the side of Charles stood his evil genius—the Kirk-party scowled, as the Bishop of London in his rochet preached on the benefits of Conformity and the sacredness of Ceremonies, from that pulpit, whence Knox had thundered out their eternal abolition. Was Scotland to become a dependant province of England? Were the Presbyters to sink at the feet of the Episcopalians? It had been well if Laud, as he notices in his Diary, had only startled the Highlanders by the portentous meteor of his coach, crossing some part of their land, a wonder they had never seen before; but his improvident zeal for conformity, unmitigated by policy or address, only left behind him hatreds and rebellion; terrible evils which the sagacity of James had predicted.

Charles in returning from Scotland, notwithstanding the flourishing accounts of our English writers, could have been as little pleased with his Scots, as the Scots were with their Sovereign. The English themselves had been

feasted and complimented, and they might have been deceived by the popular illusions of an inspiring coronation. Laud in his Diary declares that "He never saw more expressions of joy than were after it;" but Laud was too poor a politician, in the impetuosity of his temper, when on this very occasion he pushed aside one of the Scottish Bishops who would not be clad in the sacred vestment—to detect the serpent which was sleeping under the flowers.

Charles could not but be sensible that he had only carried his point by his own personal interference, a mode of which the legality was very questionable. Cares and displeasure were clouding over the Royal breast—the conduct of the Monarch betrayed his secret vexation. Those who openly dissented from the acts which the King had carried through the Parliament were not a few. In one of his progresses in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh Charles refused a Provost the usual honour of kissing hands, because he was one of the Dissenters. A curious fact is related by one who must have been well informed; the Earl of Rothes conceived the King had intentionally disgraced him, when in a progress which his Majesty made to Fife, the Earl being here-

ditary Sheriff of that county, assembled all his friends and vassals in their best equipage to receive the King; but his Majesty either by accident or on purpose, went another way, and missed him; this the Earl never forgot, and became one of the first and most active instruments in the future Rebellion. This we are told by Sir Edward Walker, the devoted servant of his Sovereign, merely as an evidence of one of those slight motives which are sufficient to operate so seriously on certain characters; did Sir Edward Walker really think that his Majesty missed him by accident?

We may be certain with Rushworth that the open affront was designed by the King; the Earl of Rothes had shown himself pre-eminently at the head of the Dissenters, and if Charles could resent Non-conformity in a poor Provost of a town, how much more in an Earl at the head of his county, and the first bearer of a petition about grievances!

The King hastened home, where perhaps he hoped for more tranquil hours. He arrived suddenly, privately crossing the water at Blackwall, without making his public entrance into London; this was designed to give the Queen, then at Greenwich, an agreeable surprise.

Kings are doomed to have their most private

and indifferent actions maliciously commented; and on this occasion there were who animadverted on the difference between King Charles and Queen Elizabeth. Such indeed on frequent occasions was the popular comparison during this reign. Elizabeth never ended her summer progresses without wheeling about some end of London, and never went to Whitehall without crossing the City, requiring the Lord Mayor and Aldermen in their scarlet robes and chains of gold to meet her, with all the Companies. This was one of the arts she practised to maintain Majesty, and to excite popularity. James brooked not the formalities of state, and however lofty his style whenever Majesty was his theme, no man was more careless of its paraphernalia. The retired character of Charles retained his father's love of privacy, and avoided these public occasions of engaging the affections of his people. Both the royal persons of the father and the son became in time strange and neglected, and their government lost that sympathy among the people, whose support, at some critical moments, they found was wanting.

But when the ill-natured spirits, on this occasion, could mortify Charles for flying, in the playfulness of his domestic feelings, to his

Queen, by an odious comparison with Elizabeth, they might have recollected that Elizabeth had no partner of her life to delight by a surprise. The only enjoyment that political Queen was capable of receiving on her return home, was to be found in the streets, and not in the lonely palace; in the shouts of the people, and not in the voice and embraces of one beloved.

CHAPTER X.

A CRITICAL HISTORY OF THE PURITANS.—OF THEIR ORIGIN.

No subject in modern history seems more obscured by the views of the writers, than the history of that considerable portion of the nation so well-known under the designation of Puritans. It is a nick-name branding with derision or abhorrence, or it is a proud title exalting them, to use the description of a Scottish biographer of the Covenanters, into "men a little too low for Heaven, and much too high for earth."

These active enemies to the established forms of the Government of England have been condemned as a captious, a moody, and a mischievous race, pertinacious on indifferent matters, and inflexible in their own absolute power, which is subversive of every other. Their sullen and intolerant natures paused not till their

dissent had spread a general Non-conformity, in the Monarchy and the Hierarchy of England. By the advocates of popular freedom, these Puritans have been elevated into the very beatitude of their designation, as "the Salt of the Earth," the promulgators of civil liberty, and its martyrs. By the wits, these Puritans have been exhibited in the grotesque shapes of ridicule, with very changeable masks on their faces; and by the more philosophical, these separatists, not only in dogmas and doctrines, exhibit a more curious singularity in their manners, their language, and their sympathies with their fellow citizens.

What I shall say on the Puritans, will be first on their origin; secondly, on their attempts in England; thirdly, on the political character of their founder; and lastly, I shall account for the perplexing contradictions in their political character, and explain why they appear at the same time the creators of civil and religious liberty, and its most violent and obnoxious adversaries.

The Protestants of England who flew from the Marian persecution found a hospitable reception in several towns of Switzerland and Germany. At Frankfort, under the eye of the magistrate, a church of the French Reformed

was allowed to be alternately occupied by the exiles of England. Attentive to the prevention of future controversies and civic troubles, the policy of the burgher senator required that the new comers should not dissent from the French Reformed in doctrine or ceremonies; and for their first public act he desired them to subscribe to the confession of faith which the French Reformed had not quite finished, but were about printing; yet so perfectly tolerant was the chief magistrate of Frankfort, that he allowed the English to practise any ceremonies peculiar to themselves, provided their French brothers did not object to them. Never was a magistrate more tolerant, or more authoritative. Every thing at this period marks the feeble infancy of the Reformation.

The miserable are compliant and the fugitive have no home. The English emigrants raised no objection to accommodate themselves to the practices of the French Reformed, who were of the presbytery of their countryman Calvin. The Lutherans who still retained many of the ancient dogmas and ceremonies, appear to have been so bigoted, as to refuse receiving the English.

The emigrants, that they might not startle their new friends with objects strange to view

or with matters as yet unheard, stripped their minister of his surplice, and threw aside the new Liturgy or Service-book of their late Sovereign Edward. In the ministration of the Sacraments many things were omitted as "superstitious." In the Reformation under Edward the Sixth some difference of opinion had arisen from a single Bishop, Hooper, respecting wearing the rochet, and other Ecclesiastical robes. Hooper had resided in Germany, and had imbibed the new discipline; but subsequently he had conformed to the regulations laid down in the Service-book of the English Sovereign.

These first compliant emigrants invited their dispersed brothers at Strasburgh, Zurich, and other cities, to join them; but when several of these found that they were not allowed the entire use of what was called "the English Book," they were on the point of leaving their Frankfort friends.

The famous Knox now arrived from Geneva, by invitation, as their minister. The party who required the use of "the Book of England" for the sake of peace, objected not to omit certain parts of the ceremonial prescribed in the Anglican service which "the country could not bear," but they required at least to have "the substance and the effect." Knox

and Whittingham asked what they meant by the substance of the book? They replied that they had not come to dispute; but while some of their brothers were laying down their lives for the maintenance of King Edward's Reformation, their adversaries might well charge them with inconstancy, and might well triumph over the Protestants of England who had tacitly rejected their own Service-book. They prayed for Conformity, "lest by such altering, they should appear to condemn its chief authors who were now shedding their blood for it, as if there were imperfection in the doctrine, and mutability in the men, which might make even the godly doubt of the truth of which before they were persuaded."

Knox retorted that what they could prove of that book to stand with the word of God, and "the country would permit," should be granted. But Knox and Whittingham now professed that the Book of England was "A Mass-Book;" and drawing up a Latin version submitted it to their friend and master, Calvin, as arbitrator. They were certain of his opinion before they asked for it. The Father of Dissent, replied that in the English Liturgy "I see many *tolerabiles ineptias;* I mean, that it has not the PURITY which is to be desired."

Tolerabiles ineptias plainly translated was "tolerable fooleries," but it was more tenderly turned into "tolerable unfitnesses." Bishop Williams observed that, Master Calvin had his *tolerabiles morositates.*

The decree of the Oracle of Reformation at the little town of Geneva, detached some wavering minds from the English doctrine, who in the humility of their weakness probably imagined that they had a distinct notion of Calvin's *purity*, and these enabled Knox and his party to carry all matters in their own way, shutting up King Edward's Service-Book.*

At this time among these emigrants arrived from England Dr. Cox, who had been the tutor of Edward VI. and was afterwards under Elizabeth, the Bishop of Ely. The uncompromising Knox had now to encounter a spirit dauntless as his own. Knox had voted Cox and his friends into the church, and it was considered very ungracious that the last comers

* We may form some idea of the convulsive emotions of men's minds at this moment, when in one of the papers which passed between the parties about this time, the following paragraph is set down as a matter of ordinary news. —"The Bishop of Gloucester, Mr. Hooper, a man worthy of perpetual memory, *whom we hear to be burnt of late.*"

should thrust out those who had received them. Dr. Cox not only had the Liturgy of his royal pupil observed in defiance of Knox's orders, but enforced its practice, by that single argument which resists all other arguments, *Ego volo habere!* All now was trouble and contest. Both parties appealed to the little senate of the burghers of Frankfort. A magistrate came down to remind these disturbers of the town's peace, of their first agreement—to accord with the French church, otherwise the church-door which had been opened might be shut. All parties instantly consented to obey the magistrate. But Dr. Cox was a politician!

The democratic style of Knox, often laid him open to the arm of "the powers that be." In his "Admonition to Christians" where he had called Mary of England a Jezebel, and Philip by another nickname, he had also called the Emperor "an idolater, and no less an enemy to Christ than Nero." This passage placed before the eyes of the honest burghers of Frankfort, in five minutes, was pronounced to be *Læsæ Majestatis Imperatoriæ.* The only writer of the history of these troubles at Frankfort, insinuates, that the party of Cox cruelly aimed by this *ruse* at the life of

Knox.* The magistracy hinted to Knox's friends that he had best depart quickly and quietly — Heylin describes Knox as stealing away by moonlight; Neal the historian of the Puritans records "the magistrates in a respectful manner" desired his departure. Probably neither of these accounts are true; both are warped by the opposite feelings of the writers. "The stealing away by moonlight" was a malicious picturesque invention of Heylin, for Knox was accompanied part of his way by some twenty friends, and we may doubt "the respectful manner" of the half-terrified burghers lest the Emperor's council at that moment sitting at Augsburgh should have the same information of high treason laid on their council-table, and the free city cease to be free, for harbouring a Shimei. But what signify such minute accidents in the lives of the great movers of their age? They weigh not, as the dust on the balance. The banishment from Frankfort might form an epoch in the history of mediocrity, the life of some solitary Nonconformist — it is scarcely noticeable in the career of Knox. He who was now hurried

* This writer evidently inclines to the Knoxians, but this history is not written without candour, and Strype refers to it as an authentic narrative.

out of the town of Frankfort, baffled and outvoted, at no distant day, was to be the most terrible man whom Scotland ever beheld; whose arm uplifted in prayer was to be as a sword of fire, and the thunder of whose voice was to convulse a kingdom.

The Nonconformists formed an inconsiderable minority; and it is evident that the dignity of the tutor of Edward VI. had greatly influenced the grave magistracy. After the flight of Knox, two distinguished Puritans, we may begin now to give them their names, Whittingham, afterwards the Dean of Durham, who turned the stone-coffins of the abbots into horse-troughs, and Christopher Goodman, whose book on "Obedience" might more aptly be termed on "Insurrection," rigidly held to "the French order, which is according to the order of Geneva; the purest reformed church in Christendom."

These fathers of English dissent offered to dispute against the Coxites, "Coxe et gregalibus suis" as Calvin distinguishes them. They would have proved that the order which these sought to establish ought not to take place in any reformed church. Each party looked to the civil magistrate to protect them from the other. Dr. Adolphus Glauburge a doctor of

law, and nephew to Mr. John Glauburge the senator, made a plain answer, that "Disputation there should be none, it being decided that other order than the book of England they should not have." The nephew referring to his noble uncle, the uncle to his learned nephew, in this see-saw of magistracy and theology, the peace of the city was not disturbed —for the disturbers now in despair of controversy, flew from "the great English book" to Geneva; and it was from Geneva that Puritanism afterwards travelled into England.

Such was the origin of that dissent which sprang up in the infancy of the Church of England in Exile. It was even increased by personal quarrels. We stay not to tell of "a certain controversy which fell out at supper," but which however rent the little Anglican church at Frankfort, by a violent schism, and as the *naïve* historian describes it through many a lengthened page "so boiling hot that it ran over on both sides and yet no fire quenched."

But what were the simple objects which had opened this eternal breach? To say the most we can for these our first Non-conformists, their jealousy of Romanism, had inflicted on them strange horrors of "idolatries," and "supersti-

tions, for some points of church discipline and certain accustomed ceremonies, which, abstracted from passion and prejudice, were of themselves perfectly indifferent. Such was the form of baptism; they insisted that the water should be taken from a basin and not a fount. They protested against the churching of women as a Jewish custom, as if so many others which they affected were not equally so! And this fastidious delicacy of Judaic ceremonies was shown at the very time they were rejecting all Grecian and Roman and Saxon names to adopt the Scriptural names of Hebrew origin which they translated with a ludicrous barbarism.* They would sit and not kneel at the

* This early practice of the Puritans began under Elizabeth, since it is noticed by Bancroft in 1595. It was renewed with vigour under Charles the First. They not only adopted Scriptural names to get rid of Popery and Paganism, but they translated the Hebrew names into English Christian names — such as Accepted — Ashes — Joyagain — Kill Sin. They pitched a note higher by adding whole sentences to their names. The reader has met with "Praise-God Barebones," but he may not be so well acquainted with his two brothers who it is said assumed Christian names of a more formidable dimension. The one calling himself "Christ came into the world to save Barebones," and the other, "If Christ had not died thou hadst been damned Barebones;" which latter for shortness and to distinguish the brothers was familiarly curtailed to "Damned Barebones!"

sacrament, because it was a supper. The sign of the cross in baptism—the ring in marriage—the decent surplice of the minister—were not according "to the French order." Calvin and Bullinger and the learned in this early era of the Reformation were distressing themselves and their readers, with scruples of conscience, which to this present day are carried on by vulgar minds, with the same indecorous if not ludicrous protests.

As men do not leap up, but climb on rocks, they were only *precise*, before they were *pure*. Their earliest designation was a *Precisian*. A satirist of the times when they advanced farther in their reformation, in rythmes against Martin Mar-prelate, melts their attributes into one verse—

"The sacred sect, and perfect pure-precise."

They became *Puritans* under Elizabeth, whom in their familiar idiom they compared to an idle slut who swept the middle of the room, but left all the dust and filth behind the doors. "The untamed heifer," as they called the Queen, long considered them only as "a troublesome sort of people." The Queen said that she knew very well what would content the Catholics, but that she never could learn

what would content the Puritans. At first confining themselves to points of ecclesiastical discipline, they only raised disturbances at "the candlesticks on the Queen's altar," at "the Romish rags" and ministers "conjuring robes;" all the solemn forms, which viewed in

"The dim religious light"

touch the mind, not polluted by vulgar associations, in the self-collectedness of its gathered thoughts.

Who could have foreseen that some pious men quarrelling about the Service-book of Edward the Sixth and the square caps and rochets of bishops, should at length attack bishops themselves, and by an easy transition from bishops to kings, finally close in the most revolutionary democracy?

After the dissensions at Frankfort, Knox and Melville and several eminent Englishmen resorted to Calvin. Associating with a legislating enthusiast whose apostolical habits of life vouched his own doctrines and whose solitary contemplation was the institution of a new order of things, men of their ardent temper were susceptible of the contagion of his genius. Knox on his return to Scotland preserved an uninterrupted correspondence with Calvin; and

though he often acted before he consulted the supreme pastor of Reformation, still he never ceased with a proud submission to consult on what had already been done. Calvin at times had scruples and probably fears at the haste and heat of this great missionary of revolution, but his congratulations were more frequent than his fears. Knox indeed had only victories to recount, for he propagated the gospel by demolishing as fast as he procured hands, every religious edifice; often leaving notice in the evening, for the monks to quit in the morning.

Whittingham, who married Calvin's sister, discovered on his return to England all the force of his relationship. Christopher Goodman, an early associate of Calvin, was one of the heads of the Puritans, till Cartwright, who had himself sojourned more than once at Geneva, here became a little Calvin. These persons with some others, were the originators of democratical Puritanism, and they soon opened an intestine war with episcopacy, till at length in the struggle for supremacy, they struck at the throne itself.

CHAPTER XI.

THE CRITICAL HISTORY OF THE PURITANS CONTINUED.—HISTORY OF THE MAR-PRELATES.

THE Ecclesiastical domination had early under Constantine assumed the form of a Monarchy, and even in that day the elevated seat of the Bishop was called a throne.* Every thing relating to Episcopacy is regal. The house of a Bishop is a palace, as his seat is a throne; the crosier is a sceptre; the mitre a crown; and in the inauguration of a Bishop, he is said to be enthroned. From the Spiritual court are issued Writs in the Bishop's and not in the King's name, and the Court of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction has its Chancellor. A Convocation of Bishops is an Ecclesiastical Parliament, consisting of an Upper and a Lower House, where

* Cave's Primitive Christianity, c. vi. part i. 140.

the Archbishops and the Bishops form the Aristocracy, and the Commons of the Clergy are represented by their Deputies. In England their title of honour is only that of "Lord." Archbishop Grindal said that though he was thus saluted, he did not consider himself "Lordly." The Non-conformist Dr. Sampson, petulantly retorted "If you whom policy hath made a great Lord be not lordly, you are a Phœnix."

The Ecclesiastical polity seemed always to conform itself to the Civil. It was now attempted to change that Ecclesiastical polity, the growth of fifteen centuries. Cartwright in England maintained that the Church of Christ was to be regulated by the standard of the Holy Scriptures; as in the Apostolical state "gold and silver they had none." Archbishop Whitgift, in reply, denied that any particular government was laid down in the Gospel; it was therefore to be inferred that the Church discipline was to accord with the Civil Government. That Apostolical simplicity even to rudeness, which was adapted to its infancy, had gradually enlarged its authority and splendour as the Church grew to its maturity under the protection of the Civil Magistrate. We perceive here that two able men arguing by two opposite standards of judgment, may open an

interminable controversy; so that in spite of reason and philosophy, there must inevitably exist two opposite parties. The last argument indeed may remain with either, as accident shall determine. It is that distinguished argument called the *Ultima ratio Regum*, equally potent at Geneva or London; the Bishops under Elizabeth punished the Puritans, the Puritans under Knox and Calvin expelled the Bishops; and thus the sword cut the knot which their fingers could not untie.

When the Presbyters of Calvin reminded the Episcopalians of Apostolical times and of primitive Christianity, reproaching their gorgeous State and usurped Jurisdiction, they were reproaching not Bishops, who were but men, but the natural progression in human affairs, when men cease to be villagers, and become citizens. The primeval church was built up with unhewn trees, when Christians were peasants;* were we therefore to demolish the cathedral, the magnificent work of art and wealth, when the Christian empire embraced all Europe? Thus too the pilgrim pastor whose sole revenue was drawn from the alms-box, was

* A very ancient church of this rude construction is still existing at Grinsted in the neighbourhood of Chipping-Ongar.

changed into the Lord of his diocese. Churches were endowed as well as consecrated, and ecclesiastical lands became as inalienable, in justice, as the lands of any citizen.

The penury and humiliations of a primitive Bishop might have reduced the Ecclesiastical order to the contempt of the people, who are no reverencers of a brotherhood unguarded by the ensigns of their authority, and dependant on the spare bounty of a parish. The Episcopal order may be considered as a community of the learned; their independence is at once the stimulus of their ambition, and the guarantee of their literary repose and their literary exertions. On the contrary principle we see how the Apostolical Presbyters of Scotland, early dispersed in remote solitudes, exiled from the living sources of knowledge, are thrown out of their age.* The nineteenth century has

* In the speech of the honest Sir Benjamin Rudyard he foresaw the consequences of this state of humiliation of the Clergy. "If we pull down Bishopricks and pull down Cathedral churches, in a short time we must be forced to pull down Colleges too; for scholars will live and die there as in cells, if there be no considerable preferment to invite them abroad. This is the next way to bring in barbarism! to make the Clergy an unlearned contemptible vocation, not to be desired but by the basest of the people."

Five Speeches of Sir B. Rudyard. p. 28.

often witnessed in the rude pastor of Knox, the fierce ungovernable spirit of his master combined with the traditional prejudices of his own rude parishioners.

Actuated however by a principle of retrogression, these new levellers would have converted a cathedral into a conventicle, and a bishop into a parish-priest, exacting the equality of Democracy in the Ecclesiastical Monarchy. The Bishops in the reign of Elizabeth were startled at the novel and extraordinary inquiry whence they derived their power and their superiority? They were not only astonished but were equally unprepared to answer an inquiry, which they hardly knew how to treat.

When Henry the Eighth assumed the supremacy of the Church, in freeing the nation from the Papal yoke he not only invested himself with the inflexibility of the Papacy, but had adroitly fitted the novel yoke to the haughty neck of the prelacy of England. The Sovereign now no longer dreaded a rebellious, or a rival power, in his own Hierarchy. No future Becket could stand at the foot of the throne, more a sovereign than he who sate on it. Priestly domination was under the control of the King, and the patronage, or the creation of Bishops, being placed in the royal

prerogative, Episcopacy was now but a graft on the strength of the Monarchy.

The English Bishops derived their authority and dignity from the election of the Sovereign. The royal supremacy remained unquestioned. On this subject it is curious to observe that Rome in its plenitude of power was equally jealous of this regal privilege. Inculcating that the Pope alone was the sole head of the Church appointed by Heaven, all the minor orders of the priesthood devolved from the pontifical institution. Against this doctrine as degrading to their sacred dignity, often had the bishops struggled. At the Council of Trent they disputed for their independence with the warmth of reformers; the Gallican church partly emancipated itself from their despotic pontiff. An Italian bishop having once inscribed on a missive that he was bishop by "the grace of God," this presumed "divine right" was treason in the Roman ecclesiastical polity; and the enraged Pope exclaiming that "the grace of God was never bestowed on fools," instantly, to show this reformer that he owed his bishoprick to quite a different source, unbishopped the bishop.

The memorable controversy now opened on the authority of the Bishops and Presbyters.

It was denied that any superiority was known in the days of Apostolical equality; Bishop and Presbyter denoting the same office, were but different terms for the same identical character, and therefore there could be no ordination from a superior, and no subordination in the whole order. This mode of opinion went to establish the entire independence of the Presbyters, freed from the sovereignty of Episcopacy.

Hitherto the Anglican Bishops had contented themselves by deriving their title and office from the royal grant. Bancroft, to put an end to this novel assumption of parity, suddenly took a higher flight, by founding Episcopacy on a divine right.* He assumed that an uninterrupted succession of bishops had been preserved from the time of the Apostles. It was the very position in other words, on which pontifical Rome had settled her own divine authority, and holds the keys of St. Peter in a perpetual reversion.

* Neal points to Bancroft's famous sermon at Paul's-cross in 1528 for this assumption. There neither Mr. Hallam, nor myself, have discovered it. The anecdote however told of Whitgift, which the reader will shortly find, confirms the notion that the doctrine though novel, was well known. Lord Bacon has also observed that this notice was then newly broached, in his Tract on the Controversies of the Church of England.

From this doctrine it resulted, that if no man could be a priest without the ordination of the Bishop's hands, all the unordained Presbyters were reduced to laymen, incapacitated for ministerial functions, or subordinate to the Bishops.

This assumption of the divine right of Episcopacy troubled legal heads who looked on it suspiciously as an infringment of the royal prerogative. Was the crosier to divide dominion with the sceptre? The boldness of the claim even startled the Presbyters—and in their terror of the divine right of Episcopacy the Puritans at Court attempted to bring the Bishop himself into a premunire. But Bancroft had reserved his after-blow, maintaining that the divine right of Episcopacy was by no means derogatory to the royal supremacy, since it was that very supremacy which confirmed it. The novelty of the doctrine, even Whitgift admitted, was what he wished rather than what he believed to be true.

In this history of human nature, it is worthy of observation, that those very Presbyters who at first had so stiffly opposed the *jus divinum* of Episcopacy, which seemed fatal for them, at length assumed it themselves! Bancroft, the High-church Episcopalian, and Cartwright the

Presbyter from Geneva, alike agree in elevating the Ecclesiastical jurisdiction above the temporal power; both aimed at the same predominance.

This, in regard to the Puritans, still more remarkably appeared when their distant day of triumph arrived, and the divine right of the Presbytery was transferred to themselves, while the rejected Bishops of England, such was the mighty change! were reduced to become themselves vagrants and Non-conformists! When Presbyters sat in Parliament the *jure divino* was debated, in their Assembly of Divines at Westminster, for thirty tedious days. Many protested against it, dreading the arbitrary government of these Evangelicals pretending to a divine right; it seemed a spurious Theocracy. The calm sense of Whitelocke by a subtile inference attempted to induce them to adjourn the interminable debate to some distant day. "If this Government," said this judicious statesman, "be not *jure divino*, no opinion of any Council can make it so; and if it be *jure divino* it continues so still, though you do not declare it to be so." The learned Selden on his Erastian principles, insisted on the supreme authority of the civil magistrate which this divine right of Presbytery was sup-

planting. He tired out this whole assembly of Presbyters, perpetually confuting them in their own learning, by appealing to the original text, instead of their "little gilt pocket-Bibles" to which they were incessantly referring. This Presbyterian Assembly of Divines however obtained their "divine right" by a majority among themselves, but having to refer the decision to the Commons, they lost their divine right in the House. It is a curious fact that the priests of the Calvinian government, who should have been the oracles of their lay-members, having only obtained their present eminent situation at Westminster by intrigue, and for a state-purpose that was to destroy Episcopacy, were only on tolerance; so that the true genius of the Presbyterial government was reversed; for now the Laymen held their ascendency over the Priests. In all political constitutions there are unlucky changes which legislators hardly ever foresee. The Assembly of Divines were at this moment entirely under the thumb of their politicians in the Commons, their lay lords and masters! A Parliamentary anecdote has been recorded of these times. The Presbyters attempted to carry their question by a very early attendance in a thin House. Glyn and Whitelocke

perceiving their drift, delayed the resolution, each speaking for a long hour, till the House filled.*

The times however in the following year became more ticklish—and the Scottish Presbyterian army in 1645 was near enough to create both fear and love among the parties. The Presbyterial Government was allowed a probation, as a civil institution, to be reversed or amended; both Houses at the same time declaring that "they found it very difficult to make their new Apostolical settlement agree with the laws and government of the kingdom."† The spiritual sword once placed in the hands of those who presumed they were acting by divine appointment, it was soon seen, that the laws of the land, were no laws to those who claimed "the keys of the kingdom of Heaven."‡

Knox and Cartwright, at the earliest period of the Calvinistical democracy, had attempted to raise the spiritual over the temporal power, for although it seemed that they were aiming

* Whitelocke's Memorials, 106. Both these members received the thanks of many "for preventing the surprisal of the House, upon this great question."

† Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, iii. 249. 8vo.

‡ Ibid. iii. 242. 8vo.

only to dethrone Bishops under Elizabeth, by a more circuitous way they were attempting the subjugation of the Sovereign under "the holy Discipline," as afterwards they sought to reduce Charles the First to a King of "the Covenant."

It is remarkable that in a government founded on the principles of Democracy, the style that it gradually assumed became regal. It described its acts by perpetual allusions to the potency, and the ensigns, of absolute Monarchy. The first English Puritans abound with such expressions as "the advancement of Christ's sceptre"—"this divine government"—"the tribunal, or the throne of Jesus." This style became traditional among the latest of the race. In a modern volume of the Lives of the Covenanters, we find such expressions as "Christ then reigned gloriously in Scotland"—"The Crown-rights of our Redeemer"—"The throne of the Lamb"—and "Christ's regalia." In the army of the Covenanters in 1639 every captain had his colours flying at his tent, bearing this inscription in letters of gold "Christ's Crown and Covenant."* Vicars

* Lives of the Scots' Worthies, Preface.—Stevenson's Hist. of the Church and State of Scotland, ii. 729.

the Parliamentary chronicler called the army of the Earl of Essex, " Christ's army royal."

The great father of Puritanism in England appeared in the reign of Elizabeth. Thomas Cartwright was a person of some eminence and doubtless of great ambition, which in early life had been hurt by the preference which the Queen had shown to his opponent at a philosophy act in the University of Cambridge. Elizabeth had more critically approved of those lighter elegancies in which the grave Cartwright was deficient. He had expatriated himself several years, and returned from Calvin endowed with a full portion of his revolutionary spirit. Again was Cartwright poised against Whitgift the Queen's Professor of Divinity. As Cartwright advanced his novel doctrines, Whitgift regularly preached them down, but to little purpose, for whenever Cartwright preached they were compelled to take down the windows to make entrances for the confluence of his auditors. Once, in the absence of Whitgift, this master of novel doctrines so powerfully operated on the minds of the youths of the college, in three sermons on one Sunday, that in the evening, his triumph was declared by the students of Trinity reject-

ing their surplices as papistical badges. Cartwright was now to be confuted by other means. The University condemned him to silence, and at length performed that last feeble act of power—expulsion! In a heart already alienated from the established authorities, this could only envenom a bitter spirit; Royalty he personally disliked, and the University had insulted him; the new forms of his religion accorded with his political feelings.

Cartwright does not scruple to declare his purpose. While the Puritans were affecting to annihilate the Church of England as a remains of the Roman Supremacy, they proposed to establish one according to their own fancy, by which all Sovereigns should consider themselves, as "nourrisses or servants under the Church; so they must remember to subject themselves unto the Church; yea, as the prophet speaketh, to lick the dust of the feet of the Church."* Explicit! Yet Cartwright in a joint production with Travers, another very eminent person, the domestic Chaplain of Cecil and the popular Lecturer at the Temple, warmed by the genius of his associate is still bolder; they insist that "the Monarchs of the world should give up their sceptres and crowns unto

* Cartwright's "Defence of the Admonition."

him (Jesus Christ) who is represented by the officers of the Church."* Still more explicit, and more ingenious, we may listen for a minute to the whole art of political Government. "The world is now deceived that thinketh that the Church must be framed according to the Commonwealth, and the Church government according to the civil government, which is as much as to say, as if a man should fashion his house according to his hangings, whereas indeed, it is clear contrary. As the hangings are made fit for the house, so the Commonwealth must be made to agree with the Church, and the government thereof with her government; for as the house is before the hangings, therefore the hangings, which come after, must be framed to the house, which was before; so the Church being before there was any Commonwealth and the Commonwealth coming after, must be fashioned and made suitable to the Church: otherwise God is made to give place to man, Heaven to earth."† About eighty

* See a "Full and plain declaration of Ecclesiastical discipline."—185.

† Defence of the Admonition, 181. The same feeling is perpetuated among the Puritans; thus the Independent Cotton Mather observes that the description of the *whole world* by the first-born of all historians, (by which we must infer

years after, these saints ruled England, and in their ordinance 1646, covered the land with their classes, synods, and general assemblies.

From the Church, it is scarcely a single step to the cabinet. The history of these Puritans, exhibits the curious spectacle of a great religious body covering a political one: such as was discovered among the Jesuits, and such as may again distract the empire in some new and unexpected shape.

Cartwright employs the very style which a certain class of political reformers long after have used. He declares that "an establishment may be made without the magistrate," and he told the people that "if every hair of their head was a life, it ought to be offered for such a cause." It was not therefore strange that such notions should create a faction among the people, which assumed the expressive de-

that the Egyptians had no historians before Moses,) is contained in one or two Chapters, but the description of *the Tabernacle* occupies "seven times as many chapters." And the reason of this difference is he thinks, that the *Church* is far more precious than the *world*, which indeed was created for *the use of the Church*. Thus the great science of Politics is reduced to a Tabernacle Government; this was the true secret of "the fiery Puritans" as Fuller distinguished the class.—Cotton Mather's Introduction to Magnalia Christi Americana, 84.

signation of "The Mar-prelates." These new doctrines of Cartwright echoed in their clamour. One of these Revolutionists is for "registering the names of the fittest and hottest brethren, without lingering for Parliament." Another exults that "there are a hundred thousand hands ready." "What a stroke," he cries, "so many would strike together!" A third tells, that "we may overthrow the Bishops and all the Government in one day, but it will not be yet in a twelvemonth and a half!"*

This was the sanguine style of "the London Corresponding Society;" and to run the parallel still closer, the whole frame and constitution of the Genevan discipline might have served as the model of the modern conspiracy.

A stream of libels ran throughout the nation, under the portentous name of Martin Marprelate. This extraordinary personage in his collective form, for he is to be split into more than one, long terrified Church and State. He walked about the kingdom invisibly, dropping here a libel and there a proclamation; but wherever Martinism was found, there Martin was not. He prided himself in what he calls "pistling the Bishops," a very ambiguous term, but according to his own vulgar orthoepy, he

* Madox Vindication, 255.

pretends it only meant "Epistling them." Sometimes he hints to his pursuers how he may be caught, for he dates "Within two furlongs of a bouncing Priest," or "In Europe," while he acquaints his friends who are so often uneasy for his safety, that "he has neither wife nor child," and prays "they may not be anxious for him, for he wishes that his head might not go to the grave in peace."—"I come with the rope about my neck, to save you, howsoever it goeth with me."

His press is interrupted, and Lambeth seems to breathe in peace. But he has "a son, nay five hundred sons," and Martin Junior starts up. "Why has my father been tongue-tied these four or five months? Good nuncles (the Bishops) have you choked the gentleman with a fat prebend or two? I trow my father will swallow down no such pills, for he would thus soon purge away all the conscience he hath. Do you mean to have the keeping of him? What need that? A meaner house than the Tower, the Fleet, or Newgate, would serve him well enough. He is not of that ambitious vein that the Bishops are, in seeking for more costly houses than ever his father built for him." Another of these "five hundred sons" declares himself to be "his reverend and elder

brother, heir to the renowned Martin Mar-prelate the Great."

Such were the mysterious personages who for a long time haunted the palaces of the Bishops and the vicarages of the Clergy, disappearing at the moment they were suddenly perceived to be near. Their invectives were well farced for the gross taste of the multitude. The Mar-prelate productions were not the elevated effusions of genius; the authors were grave men who affected the dialect of the lowest of the populace to gain them over in their own way. They were best answered by the flowing vein of the satirical Tom Nash; and Martin becomes grave after having swallowed some of his own sauce, and taken "his pap with a hatchet," administered to these sucklings of sedition.*

* The title of one of Nash's pamphlets, against the Mar-prelates. These libels, which enter into our national history, are of the greatest rarity. Some of these works beat evident marks that "the pursuivants" were hunting the printers—a number of little Martins were disturbed in the hour of parturition, for we have the titles of imperfect works. The curious collector may like to learn that there once existed, and probably may yet be found, a Presbyterian edition of these Martinisms. I find mention of it in Bancroft's "Dangerous Positions." "For fear that any of these railing pamphlets should perish they have printed them altogether in Scotland in two or three volumes, containing three and forty of the said libels."—Bancroft, p. 46.

Never did sedition travel so fast, nor hide itself so closely; for the family of Martin employed a moveable press, and as soon as it was surmised that Martin was in Surrey, it was found he had removed to Northamptonshire, while the next account came that he was showing his head in Warwickshire. Long they invisibly conveyed themselves, till in Lancashire the snake was scotched by the Earl of Derby with all its little brood.

This outrageous strain of ribaldry and malice which Martin Mar-prelate indulged, obtained full possession of the minds of the populace. These revolutionary publications reached the Universities, for we have a grave admonition in Latin addressed to those who never read Latin.* Who could have imagined that the writers of these scurrilities were scholars,† and that their patrons were men of rank?

* Anti-Martinus sive monitio cujusdam Londinensis ad adolescentes utriusque academiæ contra personatum quendam rabulam qui se Anglice Martin Mar-prelate, &c. 1589, —4to.

† John Penry, one of the most active of these writers, was hanged. The learned Udall perished in prison. Udall denied that he had any concern in these invectives, but in his library some manuscript notes were considered as materials for Martin-Mar-prelate, which Udall confessed were written by "a friend."

Two knights were heavily fined for secreting these books in their cellars. The libels were translated, and have been often quoted by the Romanists abroad and at home, for their particular purpose, just as the revolutionary publications in this country have been concluded abroad to be the general sentiments of the people of England; and thus our factions always serve the interests of our enemies.

Cartwright approved of these libels, and well knew the concealed writers, who indeed frequently consulted him. Being asked his opinion of such books, he observed that "Since the Bishops and others there touched, would not amend by grave books, it was therefore meet that they should be dealt withal to their further reproach, and that some books must be *earnest*, some more mild and *temperate*, whereby they may be both of the spirit of Elias and Eliseus," the one the great mocker, the other the more solemn reprover. It must be confessed that Cartwright here discovers a deep knowledge of human nature. He knew the force of ridicule and of invective. The art of libelling is no inefficient prelude to revolutionary measures; and it will be found often to have preceded them.

But it was not only by a moveable press,

unceasing libels, and other invisible practices, that this faction menaced the quiet of the State, it is evident by proclamations, and by frequent letters, from the Ministers of Elizabeth, that the Queen was more alarmed at the secret and mysterious correspondence of its members.

The secret meetings of this party, we are told, had at first begun in private houses; they afterwards assembled in woods and fields, till these assemblies became periodical, and were held at stated places. These meetings were kept up very secretly, their appointments being only made known to those who belonged to the quarter in which they were held. Some Scottish fugitives, at length, introduced their "discipline," and conspiracy now took a wider circuit and moved in more intricate ways. The holy discipline as it was termed, branched out into the forms of a dangerous confederacy against the Government; and though religion alone constituted their plea, yet the result was perfectly political; for some of their leaders had urged not to keep themselves in corners, but to show themselves publicly to defend the truth.

The whole kingdom was subdivided by these Puritans, and placed under a graduated surveillance. A national synod, or national as-

sembly was to be their Parliament, to consist of delegates from the provincial synods. The provincial synods were assemblies of delegates from the classes; every province consisted of twenty-four classes. And these classes were spread through all the shires of England. Provincial synods were busied in Warwickshire, in Northamptonshire, in Suffolk, in Essex; the line of communication was unbroken. This Nile of Insurrection, in casting its waters over the land, seemed to have many a dark source —it was at Cambridge, or at Warwick, places where Cartwright often abode, or at London where Travers and others sate in a synod. Their places of meeting were changeable, and only known to their own party, and they were rather to be discovered by their removals, than by their meetings. Such secret societies, and such clandestine practices warranted the alarms of the cabinet of Elizabeth.

Among other devices they made a survey of the number of churches, and of persons in every parish. What was concluded in the classical associations was sent upwards through the others, till the whole centered in their provincial assemblies, which finally were determined by synods or meetings in London. These were of the greatest authority under

the guidance of Cartwright, Travers, and others whose names have come down to us. The synods of London alone ratified the decrees of the subaltern governments, and from the synods of London alone emanated the orders which regulated the members through every county.

The Puritan faction however affirmed that their whole system was solely directed to the reformation of the Church, and the establishment of the Presbyterial discipline. But they were betrayed by the depositions of some faithless brothers; such as one Edwards whom Bancroft thus designates, "then of that faction but now a very honest man." Possibly the ministers of Elizabeth had employed that usual prevention of treason in sending a wolf in sheep's-clothing, or what the French revolutionary police termed a *mouton*, among this saintly flock; for unquestionably to the eye of the statesman, the political design of the synodical discipline assumed all the menacing appearances of an organized conspiracy. The civil magistrate was allowed to share in the common equality, but should he refuse "admonition" he was to be excommunicated; nor was the Sovereign less exempt than the ordinary magistrate, in this democracy of priests and elders.

This Presbyterial government with all the exterior of a popular assembly, proved to be the horriblest tyranny which ever afflicted a community.

This monstrous government was not conducted without policy. The people at large were not as yet to be stirred up until they were better instructed in "the discipline;" but the maturer and more daring spirits were to be privately encouraged. When they ambiguously mentioned in this Book of Discipline that "other means" besides petitioning the Sovereign and the Parliament were to be resorted to for the advancement of their cause, they found this peculiar phrase more difficult to expound, than did the royal council. They not only insisted on the independence of the Church, but they declared that the chief magistrate was only a member of the church, as any other citizen. Their true design, and they were sanguine of its success, appeared in some intercepted letters. When one of the more innocent class, objected to their proceedings in reviling the Anglican church and the difficulty of beating into the heads of the common people, their new reformation, an eminent Puritan replied "Hold your peace! since we cannot compass these things by suit, nor by

dispute, it is the multitude and people which must bring them to pass." As is usual in all similar conspiracies the fiery spirits had assumed that their "reformation cannot come without blood;" and those who afterwards manifested to the world that they were willing to shed theirs, could not be expected to exact less from their adversaries.

Neal, the historian of the Puritans, as an apology for their proceedings, urges that "they had for several years peaceably waited for the consent of the Magistrate; but if after all, the consent of the Magistrate must be expected before we follow the dictates of our conscience, there would have been no Reformation in the Protestant world." Neal does not deny the secret design of this great confederacy, and excuses it on the plea of conscience. The conscience of these saints then was to put the contemptible yoke of a Presbytery on the neck of a great people, and while they were combating with the usurpations of the Court of Rome were converting their Father-land into the same "Kingdom of Priests." Milton in his anger denounced them;

"New Presbyter is but old Priest writ large."

"That is," says Warburton, "more domineer-

ing and tyrannical." It was indeed only a dethronement of the same class of Priests to transfer the same plenitude of power to another race under a different designation.

About sixty years afterwards these very Puritans triumphed and exhibited to the astonishment of Europe their singular government. They were constructing the constitution of England by the Judaic model. The observance, or the non-observance, of the Code of Moses, occasioned perpetual confusions among these modern Israelites, till some of their politicians hesitated to adopt what was not found expedient; but they ever appealed to the laws of Moses when they thought proper to insist on their perpetuity. We therefore know what this party designed to have done, by what they did.

It seemed extravagant in the days of Elizabeth when the writer of one of the intercepted letters advised "Let us take our pennyworths of them (the Bishops) and not die in their debt!" Another more humanely apprehended that "The Commonwealth would be pestered with a new race of beggars—in the Bishops and the Deans and all the Churchmen ejected from their offices." Such sanguine politicians only anticipated the event which occurred under Charles the First!

CHAPTER XII.

CRITICAL HISTORY OF THE PURITANS CONTINUED.—OF THE POLITICAL CHARACTER OF CALVIN.

THE father of Presbytery and Puritanism is held to be CALVIN; his admirers look on this as his triumph; others reproach the novel system as incompatible with the existing state of human affairs; great kingdoms are to be governed, and not parochial republics to be superintended. Dangerous principles, subversive of established governments, were ascribed to the Puritans, as afterwards to the famous order of the Jesuits.

In what degree these charges attach to the Republican polity of Calvin has not perhaps been developed with all the impartiality that is requisite. We must contemplate the genius of this legislator who founded this new state of

human affairs, before we decide on the father by some of his sons.

The mighty Reformer of Geneva had modelled a new government. Purity of doctrine, holiness of discipline, and the equality of primitive Christianity were proclaimed. It may be useful to explain what Calvin meant by the peculiar phrase of "Purity of doctrine." It was religion entirely freed from all "Superstitions," that is, the Romish ceremonies and the Roman creed. The term "Superstition" is perpetually recurring in his great work of "The Institution of the Christian Religion." The Genevan model designed to rule the Christian world, in accordance with the mystical origin which some legislators have ascribed to their codes, was at first declared to be framed on "the Pattern in the Mount," that is, the polity which Moses by his father-in-law's suggestion, appointed on Mount Sinai, to regulate the affairs of his tribes.* This the Jews imitated in their synagogue. Every parish now was to form a synagogue. The priest was revived in the Pastor; the Levites in the Doctors of Divinity; the rulers of the Synagogue in the Lay-Elders, and the Levitical officers in

* Bancroft's Sermons at Paul's Cross, 1588, 8vo.

the Deacons. Such was "the tabernacle of the congregation."*

This "Pattern in the Mount" found partisans in France, in Switzerland, and in Germany; it became established in Scotland, and had nearly decided the fate of England.

It is as a theoretical and a practical politician and not merely as a theologian that we are now to consider this great reformer, the founder of a new government, we had almost said a new theocracy.

Calvin, without question, was a Republican, and his whole polity was framed by that of a petty, we may say a parochial republic. It is alleged however that, though a Republican, he was not hostile to monarchical government, and we find in the closing chapter of his great work of the "Institution," which may be considered as the confession of his political faith, the most enlightened general views of human governments, allowing to different countries, different forms, and rejecting with disdain the

* The counsel of Jethro, who considered it unwise in Moses to sit alone to judge the people while they flocked to him "from morning to evening," and for which, as Jethro observed, "Thou shalt surely wear away," is contained in Exodus xvii. 13 to 26. Lord Bacon thought that it was hence that Alfred took his idea of Sheriffs and hundreders and deciners, according to the Saxon Constitution.

futile inquiry, which form is absolutely and in itself the best?

As a divine, Calvin acknowledged that strict submission to monarchical government which is enjoined in holy writ. The very able apologist of Calvin indeed asserts, that Calvin could never support "the abominable doctrine that the misconduct of a king sets the subject free, without contradicting the principles he lays down in the last chapter of his 'Theological Institutions' of the duty of submission even to the worst of kings, in things not contrary to the express commands of God." And as Milton included the name of Calvin among the other early Reformers, to sanction the practices of his commonwealth, Bishop Horsley has indignantly repelled the imputation.

The truth is, that the Bishop has not taken an enlarged view of the political principles of Calvin. His sentiments on governments are but vague generalities, cautiously qualified, and the whole system of his politics revolves on the theological question, "Whether the prince rises in rebellion against God?" This leaves a wide gate open for the party who will take on themselves the decision. We know how the Puritans of England and the Presbyters of Scotland resolved the matter.

The same sacred source whence Calvin had been taught submission, even to the government he loved not, would also supply examples of that holy insurrection against arbitrary princes or tyrants, which would fall into a Republican's notions. And indeed at the close of the very chapter to which Bishop Horsley refers, to show that Calvin was not that revolutionary genius which Milton proclaims, we find a remarkable passage which tells more in favour of the political Poet than of the political Bishop. Calvin indeed does not allow the private man to take on himself the punishment of tyrannical monarchs; but the sceptres of evil kings may be broken — kings, those vicarious representatives of the Divinity, if their licentiousness pollute their authority, may be put down by the power of magistrates, who are constituted to defend the people; such as were the Ephori, among the Lacedemonians, and the Tribunes among the Romans, and this popular magistracy in modern times, Calvin assigns to the assembly of the three states in a kingdom.* Calvin too contemplates on a powerful empire as a powerful evil, and censures "the folly and madness of the people who desire to have kings of irresistible power, which

* See his Institutions, lib. iv.—cap. xx. sect. 31.

is just the same as to desire a river of irresistible rapidity as Isaiah describes this folly." He explicitly says "Earthly princes divest themselves of their authority when they rise in rebellion against God; they are unworthy to be reputed among men, it were better to spit upon their persons than to obey them." These sentiments strangely contrast with those of that passive obedience which he inculcates in the same chapter. It must be confessed that a revolutionary writer might dexterously press the name of Calvin into his service, though it must remain but an ambiguous authority.

The truth seems, that the science of politics formed but a secondary object with Calvin, who was unceasingly occupied in founding a new religious dominion in which Monarchists and Republicans might equally co-operate; provided that the Church was made independent of, and even supreme over the civil magistrate. This new legislator was only at open war with those Sovereigns in the Church whom Episcopacy had enthroned.

In the novel democracy of the Consistory of Calvin, Ministers and Laics sate together. Calvin flattered the weakness of human nature by the appearance of a political equality.

But the whole system was a delusion, for the tyrannical genius of its inventor first deprived man of his free-will.

The Apostle of Geneva by the bewitching terror of his dogmatic theology had enthralled his followers for ever, by a mysterious bondage of the mind; out of which no human argument could ever extricate them—an immutable necessity! The dark imagination of the subtilizing divine had presumed to scan the decree of Omnipotence, as if the Divinity had revealed to his solitary ear the secret of the Creation. He discovers in the holy scriptures, what he himself has called "a most horrible decree." Who has not shuddered at the fume of the distempered fancy of the atrabilarious Calvin?

The exterior parity of this new Democracy, so seductive to the vulgar, was a no less cruel delusion. In Calvin's mingled Republic of Presbyters and Elders, the Elders, annually chosen, trembled before their sacred Peers, who being permanent residents had the Elders at all times under their eye and their inquisitorial office. When the Presbyterial government was set up in England, Clarendon observed that the Archbishop of Canterbury had never

so great an influence as Dr. Burgess and Mr. Marshall, nor did all the Bishops in Scotland together so much meddle in temporal affairs as Mr. Henderson. Even at a later period, almost within our own times, the moderate Nonconformist Calamy, whose curious memoirs have been recently published, being present at one of the general assemblies of Scotland, was astonished at their inquisitorial spirit, and observing their proceedings against a hapless individual, he said he did not know till then, that there was an Inquisition established in Scotland. His opinion being conveyed to the Præses, gave great dissatisfaction to the venerable Presbytery. Thus the people had only been enchanted by an imposture of power; for it seemed to them that they were participating in power which was really placed far out of their reach.

The same fertile genius which had made "our Father in Heaven" a human tyrant, and raised the mortal criminal into beatitude, now invested his own Levites and his own "Rulers of the Synagogue" with supremacy. In this new Papacy, as in the old, they inculcated passive obedience, armed as they were with the terrors of excommunication. The despotism

of Rome was transferred to Geneva. All was reversed, but the nucleus of power had only removed its locality.

Vast and comprehensive as seemed the system of the Calvinian rule in its civil capacity, it was in truth moulded on the meanest and the most contracted principles; it was the smallest scale of dominion which ever legislator meditated; and Calvin, with all his ardent genius, had only adroitly adopted the polity of the petty republic where chance had cast the fugitive Frenchman. A genius inferior to his own could not have imagined that kingdoms of Protestants could be ruled like the eleven parishes of the town of Geneva, where every Thursday, the Ministers and the Elders were to report all the faults of their neighbours. "The divine simplicity of the discipline" of the Church of Scotland is the theme of Calderwood's history, who however does not conceal that some grew weary of "the lowly, but lovely, parity of the Presbyters." The Eldership is watchful over his parish, but should the offender prove still contumacious he is handed over to the Presbytery; and if still obstinate, the Presbytery consign him to the subtile heads of the Synod, and should the Synod fail to convert the rebel into an obedient son,

he is finally resigned to the excommunication of the General Assembly, and one day "that soul shall be cut off from Israel." They strangled heresy, and they annihilated freedom, by this graduated scale of tyrannical bondage.

This new scheme of human affairs, formed of this burgher equality and this apostolical purity, at that revolutionary period was proclaimed by Calvin's incessant correspondence on doctrinal points throughout Europe. It was no mean ambition to rule over the churches of so many realms, and to dictate to Monarchs how their people were to be governed. In England the Protector under Edward VI. was one of the royal correspondents of Calvin, and was himself a great courter of popularity. The Protector designed to abolish Episcopacy — and probably his first step was the sacrilegious seizure, without atonement or compensation, of those Church lands on which the Duke raised that stupendous palace the work of an Italian architect, and of which the name has survived the edifice.* So easy is it to combine the pomps of this earth with even ascetic Puritanism! Calvin complained to the Duke of Somerset of the great impurities and vices of England—in swearing, drinking, and unclean-

* Pennant's London—128—Somerset House.

ness.* It does not appear, historically, that England was more afflicted with these moral grievances than France or Germany; and whether the eleven parishes of his own Geneva, with all its "purity" and its espionage, and to use a favourite expression of Calvin's all "the nerves of its discipline," were, in proportion to the population, more exempt, may be reasonably doubted, since some of its members are stigmatised in the history of the Calvinian rule, which however made dancing a crime equal to adultery. Such minute matters, in the moral habits of a people, like the nails and the screws of a mighty engine, were to be scrutinised, as holding together the machinery of this novel government.

The fervid diligence of this extraordinary man was commensurate with the vastness of his genius. His life was not protracted; he was a martyr to constant bodily pain, and the physical sufferings of the man are imagined to have shown themselves in the morose and vehement character of the legislator. The purity of doctrine, in some part at least, consisted in dethroning bishops; denuding ministers of the sacerdotal vestments, and banishing from the religious service, all the accessories of devotion.

* Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, ii. 88. fo.

Calvin seems to have imagined that man becomes more spiritualized in the degree he ceases to be the creature of sensation and of sympathy, as if the senses were not the real source of our feelings. But as he who is reckless of his own life is master of every other man's, so the great hermit of reformation, who disdained all personal interests, seemed to think and to act only for the world. Calvin might have founded his supremacy on the immortality of his own genius. His Commentaries, his Institutions, his never-ceasing discourses, had been sufficient to induce the Christian world to invest him with the authority which ruled it. Conscious of dispensing the fate of distant realms, the sick man often in his bed, nerved his infirm frame to the labours which consumed it. Besides more than nine folios of his works, and several inedited volumes, no day passed without composing many elaborate letters; and the public library at Geneva preserves two thousand five hundred sermons taken from his lips, by the disciples over whom he had breathed his inspiration.*

The commanding genius of Calvin was sagacious, as well as vehement. Inflexible in his great design, he knew when to concede and

* Histoire litteraire de Genève par Senebier, i. 259.

when to temporise. At the early stage of his career, before the expulsion of the Bishop from Geneva, the great extirpator of episcopacy, offered to become the subject of an episcopal government, provided the Bishop renounced his Sovereign-lord of Rome.* Ruthless and inexorable, when his theological empire was in peril, Calvin was more, or less than man, when his friends halted in their march. He sent forth the amiable Castalio a fugitive and an exile, and he burnt Servetus while he deplored his fate.

Calvin's "Discipline" was a political legacy shared by many of his heirs in France and in Germany, in Scotland and in England. I would not ascribe to a cause too unimportant in itself, the great change which was now taking place in public opinion — by deducing it from

* Bancroft's Dangerous Positions, 8.—Calvin's principle then was to live under an Episcopacy, "if the Bishops refuse not to submit themselves to Christ, depend upon him as their only head; and in their brotherly society be knit together by no other knot than by the Truth." The Truth! was it at Rome or at Geneva? On these vague yet plausible pretexts one might have an annual insurrection at the least. The expelled Bishops would have used the same style in addressing the Arch-Heresiarch. The Truth only appeared when the Bernois and the Genevese beat the Bishop's troops.

so obscure an origin as the petty Presbytery of Geneva. But the genius of Calvin was universal, however confined to the city of his adoption. In France the Calvinists long balanced the power of the state with the monarchy; in Scotland they had triumphed; and in England the Presbyters dwelt with us. The style of democracy was remarkable at this period, and crowned heads were usually stigmatised by nick-names. Knox and his ruder school emptied their quiver of scriptural bye-names. Mary of England was Jezebel; Elizabeth was "the untamed heifer." Calvin and Beza retained a more classical taste in their anti-monarchical bitterness. Calvin called Mary of England, Proserpine; and Beza, Mary of Scotland Medea. The Emperor of Austria was a Pagan Nero. From calling names the democratic school advanced to higher doctrines. In the work of Christopher Goodman on "Obedience," to which Whittingham prefixed a preface, the sword is placed in the hands of the people, and consigned to any "Jonathan" who from some secret impulse would step forth to give the stroke of Brutus. These sons of Calvin confirm their doctrines from scriptural authorities, and they are all of that stamp which it is said were so much in favour with the political Je-

suits, and afterwards with those who with us took the title of Independents. The heroes held out to the imitation of the world were Phineas who in his zeal killed the adulterers of Ahud, who in his zeal had stabbed Eglon the fat King of Moab in his private chamber; or Jael, who in his zeal murdered Sisera, or Matthias who in his zeal massacred the King's commissioners who were sent to command the people to conformity.* Such was the style and such were the examples familiar with some of these novel advocates of popular freedom.

Calvin died in 1564. The great English Puritan Cartwright's "Admonitions," often composed in flight and exile, appeared in England in 1574; Hottoman's Franco Gallia in 1573; Languet's Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos in 1579, and in the same year Buchanan dedicated his fine and able political dialogue *De Jure regni apud Scotos* to James the First, where among other startling positions we find that *Populus Rege est prestantior et melior;* the people are better than the King and of higher authority; an assumption in the style of democracy which expresses so much, and means so little. All these works, composed by ele-

* Bancroft, 142.

vated genius, first founded the authority of the Sovereign on the consent of the people; or on what has been more recently, with more inflated nonsense, called, "the Sovereignty of the People." The axiom itself seems but a vague and abstract point of "the social contract;" that phantom of political logomachy! The celebrated Philip Mornay, called by the Romanists the Protestant Pope, was one of the most illustrious sons of Calvin, and as early as in 1566 had distinguished himself by a defence of public liberty against the arbitrary Catholicism of Spain. By these and other works of a revolutionary cast, fast following on each other, we may judge of the rising opinions of a new age. Surely these were "the prognostics of state-tempests; hollow blasts of wind seemingly at a distance, and secret workings of the sea preceding the storm."

The inevitable results of these republican politics appeared by a mighty event in the cause of civil freedom, for in the year 1579 occurred the famous union of Utrecht, which consolidated and established the Republic of Holland.

Who, in this slight sketch, does not perceive the secret connexion between the influence of human opinions and human events? The

writers of the history of the United Provinces trace their foundation "to the prevalent opinions of Luther and Calvin." The long-protracted civil war of Spain with her Provinces, was declared against heresy and psalm-singing!

A great political revolution was now operating throughout Europe, in the establishment of the potent Republic, which their first leaders had never contemplated; and in the Reformation in Germany, which had penetrated far into France. England was yet to be tried. Religion had been converted into politics, and politics was now inextricably connected with religion. Whenever a party struggles for predominance in the state, it necessarily becomes a political body. There remains one more investigation—the history of the English Puritans. They were the friends and the martyrs of civil liberty; but how happened it, that they proved to be its greatest enemies? This historical enigma remains to be solved, and as we shall see, it has perplexed our most critical historians.

CHAPTER XIII.

CRITICAL HISTORY OF THE PURITANS CONCLUDED.—OF THE PERPLEXING CONTRADICTIONS IN THEIR POLITICAL CHARACTER, AND WHY THEY WERE AT ONCE THE ADVOCATES, AND THE ADVERSARIES, OF CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS FREEDOM.

RAPIN, although a foreigner, had been conversant with our language and our country. He had the sagacity to detect an obscure and indefinable line which seemed to separate these Puritans among themselves; and without taking the most comprehensive view of such important actors in our history, he drew this result, that there were, as he calls them, religious Puritans and state Puritans.

A recent French writer of our history, as a foreigner, is at a loss to adjust the contradictory statements, and the opposite results he found among our own writers, in regard to our Pu-

ritans. He is himself struck by men whose piety was so seriously occupied by the most frivolous objects, yet who maintained their cause by the magnanimity of their heroic sufferings. He perceived that this extraordinary race eagerly rejected all "superstitions" with the very spirit of superstition itself. He is delighted at their aspirations after freedom, but he is startled at their open avowal of intolerance. In truth, the history of the Puritans, as connected with the religion and the government of England, is a history peculiar to ourselves; nor is it for the foreigner to comprehend, what even the natives themselves have frequently been at a loss to define.

Honest Fuller, in his Church History, felt a peculiar tenderness in the adoption of the very term Puritan, as being a name subject to several senses; much like the modern term Evangelical; it was ridiculous and odious in profane mouths, yet often applicable to persons who laboured for a life pure and holy. To prevent exceptions, he requests his reader to recollect that should the name casually slip from his pen, he is only to understand by it, Non-conformist. However he divides them into two classes, the mild and moderate, and

the fierce and fiery.* Fuller's difficulty existed ere he wrote; thirty years before an honest Irish divine writing to Archbishop Usher that "some crafty Papists safely railed at ministers for propagating that damnable heresy of *Puritanism;* which word, though not understood was however known to be odious to his Majesty" (James the First.) To silence these railers he suggests having a petition to the King to define a Puritan; and should his Majesty not be at leisure, to appoint some good man to do it for him.† Such was the extensive infamy of the odious term Puritan that it was flung about to any adverse party, or obnoxious person. It was not always applied to the enemies of Episcopacy, or of Monarchy, but to persons of rigid morals, who were solely occupied by their private affairs, and neither hostile to Bishops nor to Kings. An intelligent contemporary said "The Papist, we see, hates all kinds of Puritans; the Hierarchist another; the Court sycophant another; the sensual libertine another. All hate a Puritan, and under the same name hate a different

* Fuller's Church History, ix. 76.

† Parr's Life of Usher. Letters.

thing."* The writer makes this remarkable observation. "Judaism appeared to Puritans mere superstition; Christianity seemed to the Jews gross blasphemy; and now amongst Christians, Protestantism is nothing else but heresy, and amongst Protestants, zeal is misnamed Puritanism.†"

Amidst this diversity of opinions and principles, the history of the Puritans would offer to each historian, as his party inclined him, a theme for eulogy and triumph, or a subject for satire and obloquy. Heylin in his "History of the Presbyterians" blackens them as so many political devils; these were "the fierce and fiery" of Fuller; and Neal in his History of the Puritans blanches them into a sweet and almond whiteness, embracing not only the mild and the moderate, but even the fierce and the fiery.

The extreme perplexity of Monsieur Guizot, to whom we have alluded, interests by the frankness of his confession, where his philo-

"A Discourse concerning Puritans," 1641. I have not discovered the writer of this able tract, who affects not to be, what some would call a Puritan. At all events, we learn from this "the mistakes, abuse, and misapplication of that name." 57.

† Ibid. 4.

sophical candour, at variance with his political inclinations, seems to have thrown some embarrassment into his style.

"In respect," says Monsieur Guizot, "to the fanatical Puritans, the religious enthusiasts whom Mr. Hallam has judged, I think, with a little ill-humour," or as he afterwards says "with a coldness rather inclining to irony"—"I shall perhaps have some trouble to say exactly what I think. In my opinion, and in despite of so much impure alloy, their cause was the good one, and it was that cause whose defeat would have been a defeat, whose triumph prepared a triumph, for reason and humanity. At the same time the general character of this party shocks and repulses one. I have no taste for that passion so arid and sombre, and for those minds so narrowed and stubborn, who have no feelings in common with mankind; their bilious enthusiasm disfigures man, as I think, and shrinks him into so diminutive a size, that in viewing his sincerity and his moral energy they lose much of their greatness. These Puritans however were sincere, energetic, devoted to their faith and their cause, though their sentiments are so little attractive, and their opinions raise our contempt. They first rose up against tyranny.

We may not like them, but we must speak of them with esteem, and we may yield them our gratitude, if we cannot our sympathy."

It is evident that Monsieur Guizot has reflected much deeper on the Puritans, than Rapin; but I would not decide whether they fare better in his hands, than in Mr. Hallam's "coldness rather inclining to irony."

A modern critic of a loftier mood writes of these Saints with a saintly spirit. In this debate of mortal Puritanism, we shall find, that Heaven itself is evoked, and the genius of the modern critic comes

"In a celestial panoply, all armed."

Never before, for Neal in the creeping and slumbrous style of his history has "no thoughts that breathe," were the Puritans so solemnly inaugurated in an apotheosis of Puritanism. To me is left the ungracious task of developing mere human truths where beatitude is placed before us.

The modern critic has discovered that "the Puritan was made up of two different men; the one all self-abasement, penitence, gratitude, passion; the other proud, calm, inflexible, sagacious." In this dual man, one was he who would dash into pieces the idolatry of painted

glass, break down antique crosses of rare workmanship and burn witches—the other was he who would "set his foot on the neck of kings," and, so we are told, "went on through the world like Sir Artegale's iron man Talus with his flail crushing and trampling down." These Puritans "looked with contempt on the rich and the eloquent, on every nobleman and every priest." Yet they themselves were "rich and eloquent;" rich in bishops' lands, and eloquent in a seven-hours' sermon.* They were also

* Many singular specimens might be produced. Mr. Vynes said in his prayer, "O Lord, thou hast never given us a victory this long while, for all our frequent fastings. What dost thou mean, O Lord! to fling us in a ditch and there leave us?" Mr. Evans thus expostulates—"O Lord! wilt thou take a chair and sit amongst the House of Peers? And when, O God! wilt thou vote amongst the Honourable House of Commons who are so zealous of thine honour?" Another exclaimed, "O God, many are the hands that are lift up against us, but there is one God, it is thou thyself, O Father! who dost us more mischief than they all." Mr. Cradock cried out, "O Lord, do not thou stand neuter, but take one side that we may see which it is that is thy cause." Another, "Lord, thou hast been good one year, yea, Lord, thou hast been good to us two years; Lord! thou hast been good to us fourscore years, but, Lord, thou art wanting in one thing!" A pamphlet entitled "Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence" will amply supply the reader with the saintly effusions of these men; these men of whom our Modern Critic

"noblemen and priests" in their own seraphic way, for "they were nobles by the right of an earlier creation and priests by the imposition of a mightier hand." If their biblical names were not "registered at the Heralds'-college, they were recorded in the Book of Life" wherein the elect could read no other names than their own. Whenever they met a splendid train of menials "they were haughty, that a legion of ministering angels had charge over them;" and "they scorned palaces" for "houses not made with hands." Haughty truly, for more pride lurked under their black velvet scull-cap tipped with white satin, with their mortified look and their screwed-up visage, than under the mitre of a majestic primate. We are told that "if they were led to pursue unwise ends, they never chose unwise means." That these novel

tells us that "if they were unacquainted with the works of philosophers and poets they were deeply read in the oracles of God!" Was balderdash ever inspired by "the oracles of God?" I dare not quote passages from the master-seer of the Covenanters, Samuel Rutherford, from their offensive lubricity and rank obscenity. Yet we are to be told that such vulgar spirits, "instead of catching occasional glimpses of the Deity through an obscuring veil," by which the writer indicates the decent services of religion and the accessories of devotion, "aspired to *commune* with him face to face."—We have seen their style!

citizens of the world should have been men of such deep sense and such happy fortune, is indeed saying a great deal—because that they were apt to fall into frenzies, is not denied. The more exalted Puritan of the two which formed the one, is described. "He heard the lyres of angels or the tempting whispers of fiends. He caught a gleam of the beatific vision, or woke screaming from dreams of everlasting fire!"

The fairy tales of the Countess D'Anois, that charming writer of innocent inventions, do not equal the daring genius of the modern Critic. The indomitable being whom we have now to delineate, was yet unheard of in history or in fiction. "The very meanest of them was a being to whose fate a mysterious and terrible importance belonged; on whose slighest action the spirits of light and darkness looked with anxious interest, and who had been destined before heaven and earth were created."* Such were the men for "whose sake empires had risen, and flourished, and decayed." These were they who were appointed, according to one of their often bellowed positions, "to bind kings in chains and their nobles with links of iron," and "to tread the wine-press of the wrath

* Edinburgh Review, xlii. 337.

of God till the blood rose to the bridle-reins." This Puritan, or this Covenanter, "like Vane thought himself intrusted with the sceptre of the millennial year; like Fleetwood he cried in the bitterness of his soul that God hid his face from him: but when he took his seat in the hall of debate or in the field of battle," he was no longer the Puritan, but spoke and acted as men speak and act who call their intolerance "a regeneration," and immolate their fellow-beings as "a sweet sacrifice." These were the Independents, the Jacobins of England—and the Covenanters of Scotland, of whom one of their chiefs, the Lord of Wariston, when he saw the Scotch army advancing and the English Parliament voting monies for the Evangelical Host, exclaimed, that "the business is going on in God's old way!"

It must be confessed that if the Modern Critic be a great poet in history, we cannot discover an equal knowledge of history in his poetry. It hardly became a philosopher, even in such a playful effusion of his imagination, to eulogise, so seriously, barbarism, intolerance, and madness.

An important historical enigma remains to be solved. How did it happen that "the good cause," as Monsieur Guizot terms it, was the

cause of these *Energumenes?* I may be allowed to employ a term which Monsieur Guizot would not disapprove. How came the great interests of mankind, the cause of civil freedom, to originate with zealots who had no feelings in common with mankind? An explanation of this point clears up all the ambiguity of their character, and reconciles the discordant opinions of our historians.

When we say that the age of Charles the First was a religious age, we might more accurately style it, a Protestant age. The terror of Romanism propelled Protestantism. The Catholic policy was prevalent in Europe, and the Reformed party, everywhere, for their support, looked to our insular kingdom. With the cause of the Reformation that of civil liberty became accidentally connected; I say accidentally, for certainly, it was not necessarily so, as is usually considered. In freeing us from the yoke of Rome, if Geneva at the same time fettered us with one equally heavy, however altered might be the form, it cannot be said, that we advanced in the purest principles of civil rights. Kings might be rejected as well as Popes, and yet the people might not be more free. The Democracy of Calvin was inquisitorial, — and yet to establish this novel

despotism, it became absolutely necessary, at first, to adopt the most enlarged principles of civil freedom. The nation had to struggle for its independence, ere it could proclaim its Presbytery, and its "discipline."

It was necessary then for the cause in which the Puritan, or the Presbyter* were really engaged, to subvert the Government; and although perhaps the arbitrary measures to which the Government had often recourse, were in great part produced by this very opposition, still absolute power and arbitrary rule were at length suppressed, by the self-devotion of these energetic characters.

Even in the great Revolution of Scotland, though carried on by fanatical zealots, the prin-

* The inveterate controversy about *Episcopus* and *Presbyter*, after all, may resolve itself into a mere change of terms, and depends on our translation of the Greek term *overseers of the religious community*. Knox introduced the official title of "Superintendents;" it was truly a war of words.

It is curious that the Spaniards seem to be the only nation who really have preserved the term *Presbyter*, in its purity, as appears by Cobarruvias's Tesoro de la Langua Castellana.

"*Presbitero*, vulgarmente vale el Sacerdote clerigo de Missa Latine Presbyter, à Græco, Seneç, Princeps, Legatus; y porque se presupone que han de ser hombres de Edad, de canas y seso. *Presbyterato*, Sacerdocio, dignidad de Sacerdote."

ciples of political liberty were combined with its progress; before they could become Presbyters, I repeat, it was first necessary to establish their national independence. Their civil, thus became inseparable from their religious liberty. Though we may treat their real object with indifference, and conclude that whether a Church be governed by Episcopacy and Convocations, or by a Presbytery and Synods, as of all national objects, the most unimportant, yet by such miserable means, great ends were pursued; and in the struggle of ecclesiastical predominance, civil liberty was mediately, enlarged and strengthened. To the English Constitution were transferred some of its most wholesome correctives—the abrogation of the High Commission Court and the Star-Chamber; the prohibition of arbitrary proclamations; and the institution of Triennial Parliaments.* The discovery of these great advancements in our political acquisitions, advanced by these gloomy fanatics, occasioned to our historians so many perplexing opinions and contradictory notions.

But if the principle of civil freedom were announced to us in the progress of this Revolution, the great actors themselves, Puritans

* Laing, iii. 209.

or Presbyters, were certainly the irreconcilable enemies to that popular liberty which they advocated. In their grasp of power they showed that nothing was more alien to the designs of their democracy than the freedom of mankind. The arbitrary will of the single tyrant; the excesses of the prerogative; seem light when compared with their more intolerant, more arbitrary, and more absolute power. When Presbytery was our Lord, even those who had endured the tortures of persecution, and raised such sharp outcries for their freedom, had hardly tasted of the Circæan cup of dominion, ere they were transformed into the bestial brood of political tyranny. It was curious to see Prynne now vindicating the very doctrines under which he had himself so signally suffered, for he invested the Executive even with that power of inflicting death on its Non-conformists. So the Covenanter Baillie held every man to be worse than fool or knave who disputed the *jus divinum* of Presbytery, and expresses a wish to have such hanged; as he would have hanged those who asserted the divine institution of the Bishops! This warm Presbyter when provoked by Selden's Erastian principles which placed the Government of the Church under the civil magistrate, in rage

called this more philosophical state of religion, "an insolent absurdity!" The passive obedience of *jure divino*, the rigid conformity against which they had fought, were now insisted on for themselves. Toleration which had been a common cause with all the sectaries, and which they had so often pathetically claimed, was now condemned for its "sinfulness." The very persons who had so long murmured at the tyranny of the Licensers, when themselves were paramount, at once extinguished the liberty of the press, by reviving the odious office, and condemning every anti-presbyterial volume to penal fires. Toleration now seemed to their eyes a hydra, and one of these high-flyers, in ludicrous rage, called out against "a cursed intolerable toleration." For these facts no sophistry can apologise, and no statement can alter them. Thus these spurious advocates for civil freedom, for which their character has been exalted in our history, were, in truth, its most irreconcilable enemies.

Another obscure point in the history of the Puritans requires elucidation. The Presbyterians have always asserted that it was not them who dragged the Sovereign to the block. They would have been satisfied to have lapped the blood of the venerable Archbishop. The

Presbyters, after dislodging the Episcopalians, had arrived at their "Land of Promise;" and while they fattened on the Bishops' lands, they would have reposed like fed lions. They were not hostile to monarchy; and the monstrous libels which issued from the school of Leighton and Prynne, never impugn the regal authority; never touch on the abstract points of civil freedom; never handle the nice points of the prerogative; never breathe a murmur against forced loans, which probably did not grievously affect this class. Many of these libellers doubtless would have submitted to death ere they would have touched irreverently a hair of the head of "the Lord's Anointed." The doctrine of the divine and indefeasible right of Monarchy, entered into their creed, since on that was grafted their own Presbytery. These were "the mild and moderate" Puritans of Fuller; yet in striking at "the root and branch" extirpation of the Ecclesiastical government of England, their spirit was not less terrible, than that of "the State Puritans," as Rapin calls those, who were intent on republicanising England.

The Presbyterians had nursed under their wing the monster which at length devoured them. This was the party who called themselves "the Independents;" it was a splinter

sect from the block of "Brownism." The Brownists were the most furious children of Non-conformity. The curious history of these parties is instructive; but it is not the opinions sane or insane, of sectarians, which we are seeking, in our pursuit of the history of man.

The earliest Non-conformists, not without reluctance, had dissented from an uniformity with the Anglican Church; they still kept within its pale, dreading nothing more than schism. They were indeed prepossessed with a strange notion that the Church discipline was to be found in the rude and simple practices of the Apostolic times, when no national church existed, and no form of Ecclesiastical Government was prescribed. This was the first stage of mild Puritanism. The second was the intestine war with the Bishops, or "the Lordly Prelates," as the Mar-prelates called them. The severities adopted by the Government and the Church, to suppress these public disturbers, or to reconcile them to the religious forms, established by Act of Parliament, only produced that reaction which inflames the incompliant to obstinacy. Renouncing all communion with their mother-church, which they now assumed was no true church, these rigid separatists formed a third state of Puritanism,

founded by one Robert Brown, who became so formidable as to leave his name to a sect.

This Robert Brown was a fierce hot-brained man, who counted his triumphs by the thirty-two prisons in which he had been incarcerated; and in some of them, "he could not see his hand at noon-day." His relationship to Lord Burleigh had often thrown a protecting shield over his furious doings. In that day when all parties were insisting on "the true Religion," Brown announced that he would found "a perfect Church without a fault." He was one of those who would exclaim "Stand farther off; I am holier than Thou!" His friends stood aghast at their new prophet, and referred him with his new revelations to the Martyrologist John Fox. The old man exclaimed that they had sent him a madman, and thrusting Brown out of doors, predicted that this Neophyte of Ecclesiastical insurrection would surely prove a fire-brand in God's church. The new apostle journeyed about the country, like other self-elected missionaries. Preaching and persecution however seemed to interfere with each other, and as was then the mode, Brown and his congregation shipped themselves off for Middleburgh. The Hollanders were the only people in Europe whose policy had been con-

trived to accord with all the modes of faith among the religionists. One might be curious to learn, how that new government came to adopt such an enlightened toleration; for the Calvinistic individuals who formed that government, were themselves intolerant. The reverse has also sometimes occurred; in Switzerland, we are told, the Swiss themselves are very tolerant, and their government very much the reverse.

In Holland, Brown modelled his democratical church, without suffering the indignity of being driven into a saw-pit, to hide himself and his auditors. When once this perfect church of rigid separatists was raised, it fell like a child's house of cards, for the separatists separated among themselves, calling one another very ill names, and telling tales which "the Scorners" would not forget.* Brown in his latter days seems gladly to have escaped from his own church; and returned to Northamptonshire, where all the while he had kept his parsonage, paid a

* One Deacon, of Mr. Johnson's party, describes another of Mr. Robinson's with his company as "*Noddy* Nabalites, *dogged* Doegs, *fair-faced* Pharisees, *shameless* Shimeis, *malicious* Machiavelians." Thus saints of this class, even to the present day, scold and pun scripturally.

Pagitt's Heresiography, 60.

curate, and took the tithes. It is doubtful whether he returned to his wife; the object too frequently of his irascible piety. When Father Brown was reproved for beating his wife, which he honestly acknowledged no man ought to do, he scholastically distinguished — that he did not beat Mrs. Brown as his wife, but as a cursed old woman. He died perfectly in character; proud, poor, and passionate; at the age of eighty he struck a tax-collector for demanding a parish rate; beloved by no one, and too decrepit to walk to prison, the stubborn apostle of Brownism was flung on a feather-bed into a cart, and died in a passion in the county gaol.

The Brownists in Holland began to excommunicate one another, often from private pique; till at length sons cursed their fathers, and brothers their brothers, in a clash, whether the governing power were to rest with the Eldership, or in the Church? Many seceded from their "perfect Church," but never from its democracy. This "perfect Church" proved to be a hot-bed of all dissensions, still persisting that "the new Creature" may find perfection attainable in this life, amidst all the branglings and heart-burnings of their unsettled heads and meaner passions. Some modern sages indulge

reveries on the perfectibility of man, but saints advance beyond, to perfection itself.

It was one of "the perfections" of these Brownists, that they would not be bound by any of their opinions, or come to any agreement; one of them insisted that the last thing he wrote, only should be taken for his present judgment; it therefore became doubtful whether he ever had any "present judgment;" or whether he would hold on Tuesday morning the tenet of Monday night.

A Brownist, of calmer dispositions, shook off the very name, considering it as "a brand for the making its professors odious to the Christian world. This man was the founder of "Independency."

This alluring title was assumed from its grand principle that every single community or congregation, was independent of any other. They presumed, as their first position, that equals have no power over equals. The clergy and the laity mingled together, in this democracy, allowing of no superiority. In this rude principle of equality we detect that germ of anarchy, the equality of mankind, which so long after, was as little understood. But in the surprising history of mankind, for sometimes we are surprised by unexpected results, and ob-

serve the follies of man often terminating in wisdom, in this tenet of a mean sect, originated the blessing of toleration. The arbitrary Presbyterians persevered in their hostility to liberty of conscience, while the Independents were its earliest advocates, from their aversion to the establishment of any predominant power.

Few in number, and poverty-stricken, to part with one another seemed a relief. Those who could, transported themselves, as adventurers, from the shores of Holland to the wilds of America, where they founded New Plymouth. Others ventured to steal homewards. During twenty years these latter shifted from house to house in their humble circle, but the eye, and sometimes the arm of Laud was upon them. As yet they were only Religionists, and of what stamp we may judge by one of their distinguished pastors, called "the famous Mr. Canne." On his principle that no human inventions were to be permitted in divine worship, Mr. Canne furiously cut out of his Bible, the contents of the chapters, the titles of the leaves, and left his fluttering Bible without binding or covers. This saint might however have been reminded that the holy scriptures could never have existed without the aid of human inventions, in the parchment of the

manuscript, and the print and paper of the book. Another pastor, of not inferior fame, was a cobbler of the name of How. Neal the Independent describes the cobbler as a man of learning, when the contrary is the fact. This saint published a revelation of his, in a treatise on "The sufficiency of the Spirit," to show that all human learning is dangerous and hurtful. This was the independency of Ignorance, and which a few years after, led to a design, or a motion in the House of Commons to shut up the Universities and to burn our records! The cobbler's fame, and the danger in which the two Universities stood from his awl, inspired one of the flock to pun in a quaint epigram.

"Cambridge and Oxford may their glory now
Veil to a Cobbler, if they knew but How!"

Amidst the disturbances of 1640, the Independents first made their public appearance in Deadman's place, Southwark! They petitioned Parliament, piteously craving the liberty of subsistence, "be it the poorest and the meanest in the land." They asked only for a single church. We seem to be chronicling the miserable annals of a Tabernacle in a blind alley—yet these men were to be, as they came to call themselves, "the Keepers of the Liberties of

England!" or as the Presbyterian Clement Walker retorted on them, "the Gaolers."

These humble creatures, too feeble to stand alone, lurked among the Presbyterians, earnestly co-operating till they gathered strength by concert. The principles of civil and religious freedom were in their system, but these were cautiously explained, or were wholly concealed. For them one great cause was always advancing, while the Presbyterians were striking at one-half the Monarchy in the ruins of the Hierarchy. The Presbyterians were willing to have a King of their own, a covenanting King, but the Independents thundered out the secret they had kept for several years—that there was to be no King on earth! The Independents were always found among "the fierce and fiery Puritans" of Fuller. Their professed independency while they had their fortune to make, wore a mask of universal brotherhood, and accommodated itself to all mankind.

The Independents were themselves adventurers in the State, but their prospects opened as they cleared their way by the work of demolition. Every change in the State was an approach to a Revolution. The lands of the Church, the estates of the nobility, and of our ancient families; offices in the Govern-

ment, commands in the army — all the spoils of the nation lay before them. What leading spirits would not enlist under their banner? The needy broken man who knew not how to live; the libertine who would live under lawless laws; he who feared to be questioned, and he who had been questioned: every malcontent now found a party—and it came to this, that the very refuse of the people, leaving their hammers, and their thimbles, their lasts, and their barrels, pushing on their fortune, became some of the Independent Members of the House of Commons, and held those Scriptural debates which were the mockery of Europe! Clement Walker, a stiff Presbyterian and their great adversary, characterises the Independent as "a composition of Jew, Christian, and Turk." Such a motley and desperate faction were more to be dreaded for the decision which would hasten extremities, reckless of all means, than for their number; they were but limbs and members of a body wanting a working brain and a guiding hand. These at length they found in the tremendous genius of Cromwell.

This daring and rising faction scornfully glanced at the moderation of the Monarchical Puritans of England, and viewed with ab-

horrence among some of the Presbyterians the remains of a tenderness for the rights and the person of the King. Equally hostile to the Aristocracy, as to the Monarchy; to the Presbytery as to the Episcopacy; they insisted on that universal freedom, which long fascinated mankind till at length these Independents lost their name in acquiring another more significant, and are known in history as "The Levellers" of England and "the Jacobins" of France. Even the victories of the Parliamentary armies imparted little satisfaction, while their chiefs seemed half-royalist, and half-repentant of their conquests. It was this faction which dreaded nothing so much as a peace between the King and the Parliament. The true genius of Independency broke out in Cromwell. By a stroke of political adroitness, the Self-denying Ordinance new modelled the army, and every officer became an Independent. Smiling at the weakness of Charles the First, who would have arrested five members, the heads of a faction, his novel intrepidity emptied all the Commons of England in one morning.

In their political character, the Independents form a parallel with the Jacobins of France; this may not appear on the first view, since the Independents clouded themselves over in their

mystical religion, and the Jacobins seem to have had no religion. But this circumstance, in the language of logicians, is a mere accident, or mode which may be taken away, without altering the nature of the subject. The Psalm-singing and preaching of the officers in the Independent army, and the metaphysical rhodomontades of universal liberty of the Jacobins, were only different means, but not different designs. Cromwell himself printed a sermon: in the French Revolution he would have jargonized like Marat, or Hebert, in some "Ami du Peuple." They moved by the same impulse; the prelude of every desperate act with the military saints was "to seek the Lord" and sword and pistol; as with the Atheistic crew it was to offer peace to every people whom they had prepared to conquer. It has been thought that the English Revolutionists were not as sanguinary as the French; I believe they proposed more massacres than they executed; there was one, of all the Royalists and Presbyterians, in the true Marat style of taking two hundred thousand heads off at one stroke. The sale of Englishmen as slaves to America was worse than the deportations to Cayenne. The parallel might be run much further. It is enough here to show that English Indepen-

dency was the forerunner of French Jacobinism. The democratic anarchy of "these Saints of the first grass" as the admirable Wit of their day calls them, was precisely the same, for they

> "Agreed in nothing but to abolish
> Subvert, extirpate, and demolish.
> ———————— and hate
> Dependency on Church and State,
> And scorn to have the moderatest stints
> Prescribed to their peremptory hints,
> But left at large to make their best on
> Without being called to account or question."*

Such were the different classes of the Puritans. The profound politicians, among the Patriots, as Pym and Hampden, had allied themselves to the Religionists. The factions at first amalgamated, for each seemed to assist the other, and while the contest was doubtful, their zeal, as their labours, was in common. Religion, under the most religious of Monarchs, was the ostensible motive, by which the Patriots moved the people. All the nation was thrown into a delirium of terror, and their confused heads, some few years after, exhibited a dreadful reaction when vulgar Atheism and insane blasphemy raged among the multitude.

* Hudibras, part iii. co. ii. v. 606.

When on one occasion it was observed, that the affairs of religion seemed not so desperate that they should wholly engross their days, Pym replied that they must not abate their ardour for the true religion, that being the most certain end to obtain their purpose and maintain their influence. So true is the observation of Hume, that "the King soon found by fatal experience that this engine of religion, which with so little necessity was introduced into politics, under more fortunate management was played with the most terrible success against him."

That both these parties, or factions, the Religionists and the Patriots, the one having only in view the abolition of the Hierarchy, which was not the object of many of the Patriots, and the other, a revolution in the Government, which was not the design of the Religionists, should, acting on distinct principles, with little sympathy for each other, and secretly aiming at two opposite objects in the state, have coalesced with such perfect unity as to have melted down into one party, and by a strange subtility in the management of their own peculiar interests, and above all by a mutual sacrifice of their own principles, have aided each other in their separate designs, and finally con-

spired together to overthrow the Monarchy and the Hierarchy, was in its own day a result as mysterious as it was awful. It was a state of national affairs on which no theorist had ever yet speculated, or even imagined; and it still serves as a theme for political science, where a new path is opened for us, untracked in the experience of a thousand years.

So gradually matured was the vast design of these mighty factions in the state, so extraordinary the human agents and their sufferings, and so complete the accomplishment of their views, that every representative part of the established Government was immolated in the presence of a barbarous and a sorrowing people. The great Minister, faithful to his Sovereign, perished in the decapitation of Strafford; the Episcopacy was cut off by the axe which struck the venerable Laud; and Sovereignty itself disappeared when the head of the Monarch fell from the block.

Thus the Patriot — the Puritan — and the Anti-monarchist — had each their sanguinary triumph!

CHAPTER XIV.

HISTORY OF ALEXANDER LEIGHTON AND OF THE FAMOUS STATE-LIBEL OF "SION'S PLEA AGAINST PRELACY."

LEIGHTON may be considered as the elder Decius of that party who were suffered to become popular favourites by their voluntary self-immolations.

This learned Scotchman, by the hardihood of his pen, had become the head of the anti-prelatical faction; this was now a large class of the people who were beginning to appear among the meaner sort. Heads which were working more busily than their hands; mechanics and even prophets!

Leighton had already sounded the tocsin in his "Looking-glass of the Holy War," which was the project of an Evangelical crusade against the Romanists, in the cause of that kingless King of Bohemia the Palatine, on

whose boyish adventure for a coronation, some chose to rest the great cause of Protestantism. Leighton tells us that this effusion of his fiery imagination "found respect from many nations;" but assuredly not from the ministers of the respective powers who were to destroy, or to be destroyed in this aceldama of Europe. In this "Looking-Glass" however he had thrown out an invective against Bishops, which had roused their notice; but as the writer professed passive obedience to the divine right of the Sovereign, and was only contesting that of Episcopacy, James only inflicted a reprimand, and sheathed the talons of the Ecclesiastical Hippogriff which was one day to grasp the Presbyter.

Leighton had now become a marked character, as a silenced minister, and he tells us that "some persons of the better sort of the city and country" applied to him to draw up a petition to Parliament of their grievances. Their claims were moderate, looking no further than a mitigation of the arbitrary proceedings of the High-Commission Court. But Leighton, like another Knox, acquainted them with his "simple opinion," which was, "*for an extirpation of the Prelates, with all their dependencies and supporters.* The lopping of the branches

had done no good; but the striking at the root would make all fall together. *Frustra fit per plura, quod fieri potest per pauciora.* Many works in one, saves labour."

In two hours, our fervid innovator drew up that decade of propositions which afterwards served as the ground-work of his famous State-libel.

An extirpation of the Hierarchy itself affected the imagination of his disciples, who acknowledging their master, implored Leighton to seize the pen under this afflatus of inspiration. Leighton indeed was well-fitted to be the forlorn hope of a faction by his daring and indomitable nature.

But notwithstanding his own eager relish for the work itself he ruminated on the evil day which with a melancholy sagacity, he anticipated. Alluding to his former "Looking-Glass," he observed, "I was almost split upon a former employment and none to hail me to shore. I shall now have more fists about my ears should this work come to light." He was then exhorted to print beyond the seas; five hundred names were subscribed in approbation of his doctrine, but only fifty pounds were collected, and the missionary of sedition complains that "his expences tripled the poor pittance,

besides the intermission of his calling." A manuscript letter informs me that he was now practising as a physician.

The zealot passed over to Holland, and hastened two printed copies for the use of the Parliament; these arrived at the moment of their dissolution. Thus baffled, he pretended it made him "shut up shop," pleading on his examination that he had never published "Sion's Plea" in England; that he had used every means to suppress it, having addressed it solely to Parliament. However the tract was always procurable at the price of a rare book, then twenty shillings.* Why Leighton should suppress, as he pretended, that which we shall find he was willing to seal with his blood, can only be classed among the common evasions which are practised by a defendant at the bar.

This State-libel connected with the fate of the author, has occasioned much discussion; and by an odd circumstance of bearing a double title, and being usually quoted under the second, has often eluded the researches of historical enquirers. Even Mr. Hallam declares that he had never met with it, and it was long before I discovered "Sion's Plea against Prelacy," in the catalogue of our national library,

* Harl. MSS. 7000; Mede to Stuteville, Feb. 1629.

under the title of "An Appeal to the Parliament."

Leighton seems to have been the first of our political scribes of this eventful period who invented a satirical date to their state-libels; an ingenious device of faction, which afterwards was carried on, somewhat amusingly by successive parties under our mutable governments, by Lilburn, Clement Walker, and others. Leighton dates his publication as "printed in the year and month wherein Rochelle was lost." There were also accompaniments of satirical vignettes to attract his readers. In one a whole conclave of bishops are viewed toppled down topsy-turvy from a tower; and on "these intruders upon the privileges of Christ, of the King, and of the Commonwealth, he heartily desireth *a judgment and an execution.*"

Our Mar-prelate addresses the Parliament in this extraordinary style, "You are the Elders of Israel; you are an army of generals; you are the physicians of the State; up and do your cure! The Prelates are the device of man, contrary to God's commandment, and men must remove them. Unless ye pluck up these stumps of Dagon by the very roots, their nails will grow ranker than ever they were; and they will scratch more devilishly than ever

they did. Will any one daub or trim, or put a new cover upon an old rotten house that will fall about his ears; or will they not rather down with it, rid away the rubbish and build a new one?" * Alluding to the spirited opening of the King's speech that "the times are for action!" he says "it is a golden apophthegm the very best theme for your meditation, and motive for your heroic accomplishments. The laconic brevity of King's speeches, as Homer said of Menalaus, is very acute and full of matter, and so they would have themselves understood. For a word is enough from the wise, and to the wise. Who knows yet what a deep aceldama of blood our land may be? Who is the main impulsive cause of these evils of sin and judgment? Even these men of blood the Prelacy." †

Heylin, who was usually employed by Laud to examine these state-libels, is supposed to have aggravated the charge against Leighton, who he says advises "to slay all the bishops by smiting them under the fifth rib." These precise words are not found in the libel. Mr. Brodie has well observed that this was no unusual phrase in the theological controversies of the times. Heylin probably only meant, by

* An Appeal to Parliament, p. 174. † Ib. p. 185.

adopting a current figure to convey his own sense of the tendency of the libel, rather than any particular sentence in it. The words of Heylin were however alleged by the Laudeans to be an incitement to assassination, particularly when afterwards they were often threatened by some of Leighton's friends. In truth, there are many significant passages hardly ambiguous, against "the men of blood." Yet with the subtility practised by libellers, in his closing page the writer suddenly alters his tone, pretending it is the Prelacy and not the Prelates at which he aims. He couches his ambiguous mercifulness in an obscure figure borrowed from his latter avocation of medicine. "We fear they are like pleuritic patients that cannot spit, whom nothing but *incision* will cure; we mean of their callings, and not of their persons." But he who had complained that "we leave God to do all the hard work by himself;" who had pointed out "execution by the word and the sword," and finally had told us that "a word is enough from the wise to the wise," and could not be supposed to design less than his accusers had charged him with, though in his closing page the artful libeller obscures the violence of his design, he seems perfectly intelligible in his preceding ones.

While in imprisonment before he received his sentence, the Attorney-General had inquisitorially tampered with Leighton to obtain the names of the five hundred, who had incited him to the work, among whom were said to be several Members of Parliament — but he intrepidly resisted even the offer of pardon on the condition of declaring them. To induce him to recant, they attempted to confute his principles; but this was a perilous enterprise, for it was to turn on a syllogism, too confidently trusted in by the Registrar of the High-Commission Court.

Leighton was conducted to an apartment where he found seven or eight of the members of that court seated at a table, with their Registrar, Sir Henry Martin. Sir Henry undertook to demonstrate that Bishops by divine right should be our ministers. This Logomacy has been reported by the theological duellist himself. It is a curious specimen of the dialectical genius of the scholastic Puritan.

Sir Henry demanded, "Is there not superiority in a Civil state? Was there not superiority in the state Ecclesiastical under the Jews, witness Aaron's superiority over the priests?

"So that he reasoned thus in effect, Aaron

was over all the Levitical priests, ergo Bishops by divine right, should be our ministers.

" I smiled to hear their champion while I beat the brains out of the cause with a beam of their own making or of the Pope's; I told Sir Henry, that his antecedent and consequent were of so deep distance that all the learning of the world could never make them meet.

" Yet he set a face to prove it by a sounder proposition. If Aaron were over the Priests, then Bishops should be over Ministers &c.

" I denied the connexion, and told Sir Henry he could not of all the quiver have chosen a deadlier shaft against themselves, as should appear by the retorting of the argument thus,

" Aaron's priesthood was superior to the rest under the law; ergo, no superiority in Ministerial function should have place under the Gospel.

" The sequel I prove thus:

" That which was in form of a type of Christ under the law must have no place under the Gospel because it is done away.

" But not only the Priesthood, but also the superiority of Priesthood, or Ministerial function, was in form of a type under the law; ergo, superiority in the Ministerial function must have no place under the Gospel.

"The *Major* I cleared both from proof and reason, as Coloss. xi. v. 17. The *Minor*, as it is undeniable, so he had granted it, by way of *Quere*.

"The premises being thus invincibly proved, Sir Harry for a while was silent, but at last broke out to his fellow-commissioners in this sort —'Gentlemen, I can go no further, and I assure you, if it be thus, you may burn all your books!' The three Deans or Parsons, or what they were, with the Doctor sate still, mute as fish, not answering one word."*

Such was the impregnable syllogism, the Major and the Minor, of the scholastic Leighton which disconcerted the learned Registrar of the High-Commission Court, and cast the hierarchical Deans into a troubled silence. Systems of religion and political axioms were then made to depend on the fallacies of this artificial arrangement of the Aristotelian logic. The present triumph of the Presbyter depended on a point which his adversary was compelled to concede, but with a Quere—that the new Gospel had abrogated the ancient law. This no follower of Jesus could deny. But

* An epitome or brief discovery &c. of the many and great troubles that Dr. Leighton suffered in his body, estate, and family, for the space of twelve years, &c. 1646.

the syllogism of the Registrar might be changed in its form, and then a new antecedent would produce a new consequent. In the present instance Leighton had assumed that the Mosaic code and institution were but types of the Advent, and in the accomplishment of the law, that law had ceased. Yet on many other occasions he and his party are perpetually appealing to the sacred volume which has preserved the Mosaic revelation; they consulted it for its polity, they referred to it for their authorities, and they alleged it for their conduct; their habits of thought, and the very style of their conversation were all impregnated by the Judaic scriptures; and the customs which they had adopted, smacked oftener of the Synagogue than the Church. The House of Commons in the Protectorate of Cromwell was chiefly filled with these intolerant Jewish-Christians; and their gloomy austerity and stiff-necked pride marked the race of our Puritans and Presbyters.

Of Leighton's "five hundred" who had subscribed their approbation to his "Sion's Plea against Prelacy" the greater number were of that humble class of the people which we have noticed. This appeared when they flocked to

his prison. A button-maker, refused admittance to his new apostle, was committed for putting his mouth to the key-hole of his dungeon, vociferating "Stand to it, Doctor, and shrink not!" An oatmeal maker sometime afterwards, persisted in keeping on his hat in the court of High-Commission as Leighton had set the example, declaring that never would he pull off his hat to Bishops. "But you will to Privy-counsellors," observed a good-humoured Lord. "Then," replied our Leightonian, "as you are privy-counsellors I put off my hat, but as you are rags of the Beast, lo! I put it on again!" When the Bishop of Winchester would have dismissed this frantic fool, the oatmeal maker exclaimed "Hold thy peace thou tail of the Beast, that sittest at the lower end of the table." Leighton—the button maker—the oatmeal man, *et hoc genus omne*, sate at that table ten years afterwards! and though these were often calculating the mystical number in the Revelations about "the Beast," neither they nor "the beast" ever imagined that approaching metamorphosis.

Such were the confederating friends of the author of "Sion's Plea." They were devoted to the extirpator of Bishops, and sent menacing letters to Laud to caution him that "he might

expect a pistol, or something else in his belly, if Leighton escaped not." Another was sent to the Lord Treasurer. Fanatical arts were practised by Leighton himself. The day before he was to have received his sentence, he escaped from prison. In his prayer that morning he had mysteriously announced a miracle which would shortly be manifested, and his disciples spread a rumour that the prison-doors of their apostle would be opened, as for Peter. This miracle was the device of one of these people, a tailor, and it required the invention of such a genius. One Levington, "a zelotical Scotchman" and tailor, went to the Fleet-prison accompanied by a Mr. Anderson, who was also visiting a friend. The tailor had craftily made a suit of grey cloth, the exact counterpart of that worn by Mr. Anderson. When they had entered the Fleet, each separated to go to his friend; the tailor hastened to shave his apostle and dress him in the suit he had brought. The porter at the gate, on his returning with his friend in grey allowed the two to pass, apparently as they had entered. But when the real gentleman in grey afterwards appeared he was arrested. Anderson declared he was ignorant of the whole plot; but both he and the tailor were heavily fined.

Leighton wrote a treatise to prove the lawfulness of his flight, authorised by similar ones of Athanasius, Ambrose, Aquinas, and others. But no prophet should venture to write on the lawfulness of his flight till he had secured himself from a hue and cry, which in a fortnight brought back our apostle from Bedfordshire to the Warden of the Fleet.*

In this libel Leighton professes the utmost loyalty for the King, for whom he would lay down his life. Leighton was not conscious of the grievances of the Parliament—it was merely as a silenced minister that he felt what he considered as the grievance of the Hierarchy. "We proclaim what we think without flattery; that all Christendom hath not such a King for kingly endowments, as our Sovereign and supreme Governor." And in a narrative of the inhumanity of his gaolers, who had hurried him from a chamber down many dark steps

* Rushworth is the only writer who gives some notion of the manner of Leighton's flight, but his account is both obscure and imperfect. The Warden at the moment gave a false account to Laud of Leighton's escape as he said over the walls, either to excuse himself or from not comprehending the mysterious tale of the porter, of "the two gentlemen in grey." I find a clear narrative in a manuscript letter of the times: Harl. MSS. 7000. Mede to Stuteville, Feb. 27, 1629.

into a loathsome hole among felons, this cruel persecution did not come as some have supposed from the King, for Leighton confesses, "I was shut up twenty and two months notwithstanding the King's command again and again, to replace me in my former chamber." He had indeed offended the domestic feelings of the Sovereign by observing that "God suffered him to our heavy woe to match with the daughter of Heth, though he missed an Egyptian." This poignant allusion to the French and Spanish matches made a great sensation. The defence of Leighton, on this passage which he addressed to the King, displays an odd subterfuge, by converting the obnoxious passage into a pretended compliment to his French Queen. "The phrase is a singular phrase," observed Leighton, "and is as little as could be said if any thing were said in that particular; for the *Hittites* were the kindest and trustiest neighbours that Abraham had." Leighton, as afterwards did the Puritanic Government, was in this manner introducing perpetual allusions to Scripture history, to accommodate the public affairs of England to the Kingdom of Israel!

It was not however solely the Hierarchy which received the deadly blow of our zealot's

pen, the whole government is charged with a popular rumour which the ill conduct of public affairs seemed to warrant—that of betraying their country, or as Leighton forcibly expresses it "all that pass by us spoil us," meaning France and Spain, "and we spoil all that rely on us," meaning the Protestant Rochellers, whom he asserts we suffered to perish by famine. An eulogy bestowed on Felton, and the invocation of a future Brutus startled the pondering lawyers, who in these apostrophes saw nothing less than high-treason.

Leighton himself has reported the conduct of Laud at the moment of his sentence; and curiously characteristic it is of that casuistry which Laud was accustomed to practise on special and critical occasions. "All this while this man of tongue (the Bishop) spake what he would without controulment. At his conclusion he added an apology for his presence and assistance in this great service, where he confessed that by the Canon Law no Ecclesiastical persons ought to be present, or assist in such a judicature where there is loss of life or member, but, said he, to take away the ear is not loss of hearing, and so no member lost; so for burning the face, or whipping, no loss of life or

member, and therefore he concluded he might assent to the censure."

Neal, the historian of the Puritans, in order to aggravate the odium of Laud's persecution and to mark a fiend-like triumph in the Bishop over his prostrate victim, has recorded that while the merciless sentence was pronouncing, "Bishop Laud pulled off his cap, and gave God thanks for it!" This circumstance rests on his single authority, and as we know the side to which his prejudices would lean, it becomes a suspicious one. If Neal has delivered to posterity a fugitive rumour, as an ascertained fact, he has violated the solemn duty of an historian. This story of Neal has occasioned more offence to Churchmen than perhaps it may deserve.* It is not difficult to imagine such an ebullition from the feelings of Laud at the discomfiture of this impious Corah. In

* A recent writer of the Life of Archbishop Laud has pursued an extraordinary mode of skreening Laud from this popular odium. For concluding that "there is not the slightest evidence that Laud was present at the trial," he proceeds "Denying therefore that there is any evidence that Laud was present &c. he must now be satisfied that this was a rash 'denial.' If the circumstance which has given so much offence had occurred, it would probably have been noticed by Leighton himself."—Lawson's Life and Times of Archbishop Laud. i. 530. And we see it is!

the tragical condemnation of the extirpator of Prelacy, his Grace, always warm and hasty, might only have witnessed a public demonstration to support the established order; and indulging more of hope, than of cruelty on the new system about to be tried, have expected that the terrible punishments which the barbarism of our penal code authorised, would be a preventive of future impieties against Bishops.

Nor can we afford to Leighton, all the commiseration his sufferings at first awaken. The intolerance of the enemies of the Hierarchy far exceeded any in the Church-government. The Genevan Divines, the sons of Calvin, assumed that as the Mosaic Law punished idolaters with death, every Papist was involved in the same doom; and Leighton on his own principle condemns the Dutch Republic for suffering a Roman Catholic to exist in their State. Alluding to an accident which produced a great sensation in that day, of a Romish priest and his auditory having been buried in the fall of an old house at Blackfriars, Leighton only sees in this deadly blow, the finger of God covering the idolaters with blood and rubbish; and which, he adds, " pointed out the duty of *ministers* and *magistrates*, that they should have followed the blow, doing *execution*

with the *word* and the *sword.* It is a great fault in men of place that they would have God do all the hard work by himself."* Such was the great adversary of the Bishops! Had the places of the judge and the culprit been reversed, the sentence would not have been less merciless. And so it happened! In some lines by Leighton himself he asks,

> "Why put we not imperious Prelates down,
> And set Christ's sacred senate in its room?"

When, ten years afterwards, this "Sacred Senate" sat on the case of the Quaker Naylor, they inflicted tortures as revolting in their detail as those of Leighton; it was indeed with the most difficult contrivances, and in protracted debates of several weeks, that a few calmer heads among the "Sacred Senate," prevented them from adjudging the crack-brained visionary to a horrible death.

A portrait of Leighton, engraved by Hollar, is inscribed with the revolting particulars of his tragical punishment—a picture of blood well suited to the graphical details of the political Spagnolets whose dark pencils have copied the

* An Appeal to the Parliament, p. 168.

torture stroke by stroke. Yet scarcely have they told us all the variety of his wretchedness during twelve long years of a troubled life in what the enthusiast calls his "Prison-palace"—a close dungeon! Leighton more pathetically describes the merciless condemnation as "having inflicted harder things upon a man and his family than death itself; it was a shuddering sentence and as cruelly executed."

Leighton went to his horrible execution in the orgasm of a wild inspiration; he thought and talked, even in his tortures, labouring with the spirit of martyrdom. Some philosophers in the calm of their cabinets, have conjectured that the view of a vast assembly of the people has stimulated to magnanimity, even the trembler at death, and abated even the sensation of torture—martyrdoms have been met with a rejoicing spirit—but far more intensely may that sympathy affect the unshrinking sufferer who listens to his triumph in the animating shouts of the people themselves. Leighton indeed required no extrinsic aid to support a failing spirit, otherwise he would have found it in his voluble and active wife, who marching by his side, beheld nothing less than a glorious crucifixion in the pillory, where her husband was to suffer nearly the pangs of one.

Such a woman felt the importance of her own person. She went on before him to the execution vociferating that "As Christ was sacrificed between two thieves, so was her husband led between two knaves," the officer and the executioner! The latter was made drunk to perform this bloody work. When Leighton put his neck into the pillory he exclaimed "This is Christ's yoke, and the spirit of glory rests on my head." When his ear was taken off he cried "Blessed be God, if I had a hundred I would lose them for this cause." When they had slit his nostril and branded his cheek he cried out "Such were the wounds which were the wounds of Christ." The knife, the whip, the brand, and the fire were to be repeated, and a sepulchral life was to close over his miseries! With a body macerated and a mind bewildered, both worn out by their equal affliction, Leighton yet lived long enough to describe himself as "The wheat that comes from between the two millstones, tried and purified,—gathering grapes from thorns, and figs from thistles." The old man who had so often mysteriously invoked miracles which were to happen, might at length imagine that a great one was manifest, when his feeble eyes viewed Lambeth Palace changed into Lambeth

Prison, and the Mar-prelate himself become its querulous keeper, at the sinking age of seventy-two. On Leighton's application to his former disciples and now his Lords, the Parliament, they appear to have left him to his own poverty, but to have consigned to him the Archiepiscopal Palace to range in, and make reprisals for his damages on those who had occasioned them. Nalson tells us that "he persecuted their purses, with as much rigour and severity as his masters did their persons." Laud notices the sacrifice of his goods which were sold at any price; but these were but the remainders of what Leighton did not seize on, who usually declared, that "All was his! Laud's goods, and all!" Yet the poor old zealot himself on the verge of the grave, was not so placable as usually represented. Addressing the Parliament in 1646 he could not forbear alarming his late "Tormentors, so many as yet live." "Though the laws of God and man call for revenge of innocent blood, yet I refer that to them to whom God hath committed the sword." Such were "the tender mercies" of the Puritan, who was as zealous as his "Tormentors" in appealing to that ultimate regal argument.

With the undisguised emotions of Laud,

when, in that great revulsion of fortune, the Archbishop was consigned to the hands of his old Sectarian, we are acquainted; for his own hand has recorded this extremity of his fate. Laud felt it as a studied indignity cast on him, and the prognostic of his own doom. We have his words in the history of his Troubles, "Dr. Leighton came with a warrant from the honourable House of Commons for the keys of my house at Lambeth, that prisoners might be sent thither. I then saw it evident that all that could, should be done to break my patience. Had it not been so, somebody else might be sent to Lambeth, and not Leighton who had been censured in the Star-chamber to lose his ears for a base and virulent libel against Bishops and the Church-government established by law, in which book of his were many things which in some times *might have cost him dearer.*"

We may here perceive that notwithstanding the barbarous punishment inflicted on Leighton, the Archbishop considered this extraordinary libeller to have been leniently treated in having had his life spared. Laud once said on another libel of the same school, that "there was treason enough in it to hang a man in any state."

What a meeting was this of Laud and Leighton! These two old men, both grave teachers of Christianity, and having passed their "three score and ten," lingering on the verge of life, were still never to be reconciled! They should have embraced each other on bended knees, praying for mutual forgiveness—but the hatred of party, and the change of fortune only filled their narrow minds when they lifted up their hands in amazement and horror at each other!

With regard to the inhumanity of the punishment which Leighton underwent, and which has thrown so deep an odium on the government, and more particularly on Laud, I think that this odium has originated in the artifices of party-writers, and the refinement of feeling in those, who though no advocates for such revolutionary characters, turned aside in disgust from so barbarous a scene. This severity of punishment the philosophic Hume censures without venturing to describe the horrible operations, but deems it "more just than prudent;" while the fierce Macaulay and her successors, with the address peculiar to genius and faction, have contrived to repeat the detail, horror by horror, as "a tyranny which outwent any example of former ages."

These exaggerations were not the real feel-

ings of contemporaries. Neither did the government presume on this occasion to be "tyrants;" nor did the people consider "the tyranny to have outwent any former example."

In the manuscript letter already referred to, it is said, that had not Leighton aggravated his offence by his flight and his conduct, "his Majesty had been inclined to have pardoned all his corporal punishments." It was so declared in court. Lawyers are certainly not the profoundest politicians; they keep their immoveable eyes on the written code. The Lords-Chief Justices declared that had the author of such dangerous assertions been called before another tribunal, they would have sentenced him to the punishment of high-treason, as lawyers, and therefore they inflicted the severest they could, short of life. The barbarous punishment of Leighton, must be ascribed far more to the sanguinary code of our jurisprudence, and the rude manners of the times in which those laws were passed, than to the temper of the Judges who condemned him. Cruel punishments at the mere recital of which we shudder—such as the quartering alive of men condemned for treason —were not then struck out of our penal laws. We must weigh the value and nature of things as well as of men, by the standard weights

which were used in their own times. I believe that the cry so often raised against the government of Charles the First, or of the Archbishop, on account of the tragical fate of Leighton, has been an artifice practised by a political faction in recent days, who were certain that in painting such horrors they could not fail of exciting the indignation of every humane mind, and to lay the odium on the head of Laud, was to secure our abhorrence of that victim of State. To me the clearest proof that the severe punishment of Leighton was not in its day considered arbitrary and inhuman, as we are apt to conceive, is, as I have mentioned, that this very party, when in power, had recourse to the same penal law, and inflicted similar horrors on the Quaker Naylor; and that in the charges of Parliament against Laud, though the smallest were allowed to expand their list, the sentence passed on Leighton, was never noticed.

Truly has Hume observed that this horrid punishment was "more just than prudent." The Statesmen of Charles the First had not then been taught the danger a government incurs when it excites strong sympathy for the criminal. When afterwards the same experiment was repeated on Prynne, Bastwick and Burton, it produced the same effect of bad po-

licy. About this time, Richelieu observing the triumphant manner in which some condemned Protestants died for their faith, in the presence of the people, that profound minister terrified at this spirit, instantly ordered that no public punishments should henceforth be practised on heretics.

CHAPTER XV.

ON THE SABBATICAL INSTITUTIONS.

We have now arrived at the investigation of one of the most curious, one of the most delicate, and one of the most misconceived points in the history of Charles the First — the custom of performing at Court, plays and masques on Sundays, or as the spirit of party afterwards emphatically designated them, on "Sabbaths." Sunday was usually fixed on for these recreations as the festival day of the week — and the revival of the memorable declaration of James the First for promoting lawful sports on that day, such as bowling, wrestling, dancing, distinguished from bear-baiting, cock-fighting, &c. was not one of the least causes of the civil war among the populace.

The memory of Charles is still loaded by some persons, as well as by the Puritans of this

day, with the popular obloquy of irreligion and profaneness in violating the Sabbath. Even his friends, startled by a profaneness, which certainly never entered into the mind of the Monarch, elude the torturing enquiry.

But it is our business to enter more particularly into the motives and conduct of Charles the First; to trace out the opinions of himself and his predecessors upon this misconceived subject; to ascertain, we should rather say, the notions and the practice of the whole Christian world with regard to it, since the establishment of the Christian faith.

It may at first appear strange that a rite ordained in the most ancient state of the ancient Israelites, should have no inconsiderable influence in the modern history of Great Britain—and in no other! Nor can the subject be justly comprehended without investigating the nature of the Sabbatic Institutions of the Hebrews, and the history of the modes of the observance of Sunday, as we trace them through ecclesiastical history. It is only by this way that we can become acquainted with the subject, and comprehend the notions and the design of the English Sovereign and the English Archbishop who were dragged to the block as Sabbath-breakers.

An entire cessation from all the affairs of life on each seventh-day, is a Jewish institution; it is not prescribed by the laws of any other people.

The minutest violation of its rigid observance incurred the sentence of death. A man gathering faggots in a wood was condemned to the punishment of lapidation, a punishment reserved only for the blasphemer, who in mockery of the God of Israel dared to pronounce the ineffable name. At a lower period of the Israelitish history, Isaiah in his sublime style impressed its extreme rigidity. "If thou restrain thy foot from the Sabbath; from doing thy pleasure on my holy day; and shalt call the Sabbath a delight; and the holy feast of Jehovah honourable; and shalt honour it by refraining from thy purpose, from pursuing thy pleasure and from speaking vain words—then shalt thou delight thyself in Jehovah." * So inviolable was held the sanctity of this day, that its uninterrupted course was preferred to the preservation of life itself, of which history has recorded some instances of the most solemn nature, and some whose result has not been a little ludicrous.

The reason of this peculiar institution has

* Lowth's Isaiah, chap. lviii. ver. 13, 14.

been often enquired into. Moses in describing the Creator as *resting* from the labours of creation on the *seventh day*, and by ordaining the strictest ceremonies of the Sabbath as a memorial of the divine repose, only accommodated such figurative expressions to the sensual comprehensions of his tribes — an intellectual omnipotence whose workmanship is not the work of hands, could not be comprehended by their gross conceptions.* The great legislator of the Hebrews has also assigned another reason for the Sabbatic Institution, for he told the Israelites that the Sabbath commemorated their deliverance from Egypt.† At

* The most enlightened of the Rabbinical writers have usually agreed that such physical expressions, and human emotions, have been only adopted for the vulgar—as when in Psalms civ. 34. "The Lord *rejoices* in his works." So Aboab in his paraphrase on Genesis, p. 7. tells us on this phrase of God *rested* from his labours. *Y helgo, a nuestro modo de hablar.* "And *rested*, according to our mode of speaking."

† Deut. v. 15. This double commemoration is explained by the most learned of the Jews, to clear up any difficulties which might arise, by a memorable event; we are informed that it was on a Sabbath morning that Pharaoh and his host were overwhelmed in the Red Sea. Such then was the hebetude of the Israelites, that Moses appears to have considered that an insulated incident connected with their own history, was more likely to be commemorated by them, than

a late period of their history the Jewish apologists of their people, so contemned and aspersed by Greek and Roman, assign different motives for the Sabbatical Institution. Philo after some platonic fancies of the mystical number seven, for its quietness, floridly describes the seventh day as "the universal festival of Nature" which ought not to be peculiar to any people; but Josephus informs us, that the Sabbath of the Jews was instituted for the purpose of securing a regular application to the study of their law.

Sabbatarians, became a term of reproach for the Jews with the Polytheists, who could never conceive the design of the Sabbath from its singular observances. The blunders of Plutarch are as ludicrous as his calumnies are malicious.* Tacitus and Juvenal imagined that the custom was a mere indulgence of national indolence. Sometimes they mistook the solemn Sabbath for a penitential fast, as did Augustus when writing to Tiberius, alluding to his own abstinence, he said that "no Jew kept so strict a fast upon the Sabbath as he did on that

the miraculous event of the creation itself; a perpetual miracle existing for all mankind.

* Sympos. lib. iv. where there will be found many absurdities about the Hebrew people.

day."* The epigrammatic Martial, alludes to the windy sourness of the empty stomachs of fasting Sabbatarians.†

The ancient Polytheists were as little acquainted with the customs of the insulated Hebrews, as are most of the modern Christians. To them nothing seemed so joyless as the austerity of a Jewish Sabbath. It was a strange abandonment of all the avocations of life. They saw the fields of the Hebrew forsaken by the labourer; the ass unsaddled; the oar laid up in the boat; they marked a dead stillness pervading the habitation of the Israelite; the fires all extinguished; the accustomed meal unprepared; the man-servant and the maiden leave their work, and the trafficker, at least one day in the week, refusing the offered coin. The most scrupulous superstitions had long been superadded to the strict observance of the Mosaic institution, by the corrupting artifices of the rabbinical Pharisees. The female was not allowed to observe herself in a mirror, lest she might be tempted to pluck a hair; the Israelite might not even scrape off the dirt on his shoes, he must not lift a weight, nor touch money, nor ride, nor bathe, nor play on an instrument; the most trivial act of domestic life connected

* Suet. Oct. Aug. † Lib. ix. Epig. 4.

with labour or business, was a violation of the Sabbath. Even the distance of a Sabbath-walk was not to exceed that space which lies between Jerusalem and the Mount of Olives; this was the distance between the Temple and the Tabernacle; it had been nicely measured, and the Hebrew in Rome on his Sabbath, was still counting the steps of a Sabbath-day's journey. The Romans too might have heard that these Hebrews when they had armies of their own, would halt in the midst of victory, on the eve of the Sabbath; and that on the Sabbath-day they ceased even to defend their walls from the incursions of an enemy. Had not the Romans profited by this custom in their last memorable triumph over Jerusalem?

But the interior delights of the habitation of the Hebrew were invisible to the Polytheist. He heard not the domestic salutation which cheerfully announced "the good Sabbath," nor the paternal benediction for the sons, and that of the masters for his pupils. He could not behold, in the twilight hour of the Sabbath, the female covering the fresh loaves, prepared for that sanctified day, with her whitest napkins, in perpetual remembrance of that miraculous food which had fallen from Heaven on every day, save the Sabbath. He could not behold

the mistress of the house watching the sun set, and then lighting up the seven wicks of the lamp of the Sabbath, suspended during its consecration; a servile office performed by her own hand in atonement of the great mother of mankind. For oil to fill the Sabbath-lamp the mendicant implored an alms, which was as religiously given as it was religiously used. But the more secret illumination of the law on the Sabbath eve, as the Rabbins expressed it, bestowed a supernumerary soul on every Israelite. The sanctity felt through the Jewish abode on that day, was an unfailing renewal of the religious emotions of this pious race. Thus, in the busy circle of life, was there one immoveable point, where the weary rested, and the wealthy enjoyed a heavenly repose; and it was not without some truth that Leo of Modena, a philosophical Hebrew, called this day "the Festival of the Sabbath."

It is beautiful to trace the expansion of an original and vast idea, in the mind of a rare character, who seems born to govern the human race. Such an awful and severe genius was the legislator of the Hebrews! The Sabbatical institution he boldly extended to a seventh year, as well as he had appointed a seventh day. At that periodical return, the earth itself

was suffered to lie fallow and at rest. In this "Sabbath of the land," the Hebrews were not permitted to plant, nor to prune, to sow, nor to reap; of the spontaneous growth of the land, no proprietor at those seasons was allowed to gather more than sufficed for the bare maintenance of his household.* In this seventh year all debtors were to be released, a law which would naturally check the facility of increasing debts at the approach of the periodical release. But what was the design of this great Legislator in the extraordinary ordinance of ceasing agricultural labours?

We may conjecture that in the infant state of cultivation he considered, that in the confined territory which the Israelites occupied, far inland, among woods, and mountains, and rocks, and without any commercial intercourse with surrounding nations, for they sought none, and none came to them, their incessant industry might exhaust their soil. This law seems to have originated in a local necessity, but the foresight which would have prevented the evil of famine, erred even in its wisdom; for though Israel had been promised that "the sixth year should bring forth fruit for three years," and Moses would calculate on that sur-

* Levit. xxv. 3. 7.

plus to supply the Sabbatical year, yet this refractory horde too often forfeited the Divine favour. This Ordinance impoverished the wealth of this agricultural people, and the Sabbatical year was usually followed by one of scarcity and distress. Thus it happened when Alexander on a very singular occasion,* was desirous of conceding to the Hebrews some substantial mark of his Royal favour, none seemed to them of more national importance, than a dispensation to pay tribute in the seventh year.

A more obvious wisdom and a more beautiful moral influence appear in the still greater Sabbatical institution of every fifty years. Seven Sabbaths of years closed in their Jubilee, or the year of Release: a name and a ceremony still retained in the mimicry of Judaism by Papal Christianity, though it degenerates into a ludicrous and unmeaning parade. On the eventful day which hallowed a fiftieth year, at the blowing of the horn in the Synagogue, and the horn is still blown though no longer heard in Judea, the poor man once more ceased to want, all pledges were returned, and

* The story is delightfully told by Josephus in his History, lib. xi. c. 8.

all lands reverted to their original proprietors. On that day the slave was emancipated! The Lord had decreed, "The land shall not be sold, for the land is mine!"* By this Sabbatical institution of the Jubilee, no demoralised parent could entirely deprive his offspring of the inheritance of their ancestors; the curse of destitution no man could entail on his posterity. Equality of fortunes in the conditions of men, a political reverie in all other governments, seemed to have been realised in the small sacerdotal and agricultural Republic of Israel; and perhaps served as the model of that famous government which the Jesuits attempted to establish in Paraguay. The sublime legislator of the Hebrews to prevent the oppressive accumulation of wealth, in individuals, and the multiplication of debts without limit, and the perpetuity of slavery, decreed that nothing should be perpetual but the religious Republic itself! This greater Sabbatical institution was an expedient to check the disorders which flow from the monopoly of property. It produced a kind of community of goods among the people, and in some respects combined the theoretical politics of Plato and Socrates with the more practical systems of real property and per-

* Levit. xxv. 23.

sonal possessions of Aristotle and Cicero. Too exquisitely benevolent for the selfishness, and the pride, and the indolence of man, the passions of mankind would revolt against this code of philanthropy, adapted to a small community; it was an Agrarian Law without its violence, and an Ostracism without its malignity. While Israel possessed their Holy Land, all the Sabbatical institutions were religiously observed, till the destruction of the first Temple by the Assyrians. When the captive Jews, returning from Babylon, sought their fatherland, they beheld their tribes confused together, and many of their brethren were wanderers in far-distant regions. The glory of their Temple had for ever passed away, the feelings of patriotism were cold in a desolated country,—the magic had dissolved—and the Seven Sabbaths of Years for ever vanished!

Such is the history of the Sabbatic institutions of Moses. The seventh day, consecrated to the universal repose of all nature, may be said to have entirely disappeared, except among this ancient people, who still preserve it with all its rigours. Even Mahomet in perpetuating it among his Moslems, changed it to a weekly feast-day, and "the most excellent day on which the sun rises" as it is described, is

the sixth of the week. The Mohammedans esteem it a peculiar honour to Islam, that Friday has been appointed for them, and that they alone enjoy the blessing of having first observed it.*

The observance of the Sabbath-day became a subject of controversy, only among the religious of the Protestants of our country; a subject which requires our investigation.

* Sale's Preliminary Discourse to the Koran, 197.

CHAPTER XVI.

OF THE OBSERVATION OF THE SABBATH UPON SUNDAYS.

THE superstitious discipline of the Jewish sabbath, as practised by the tyrannical Pharisees, was one of those burthens of the old law which the new removed.

The founder of the Christian Religion in the severe reprimands to his rabbinical persecutors, by his words and by his actions, testified that with the abrogation of the Mosaic ritual, the ceremonial performance of the Sabbath was dissolved. Jesus announced himself to be "Lord of the Sabbath," and declared that "the sabbath was made for man, not man for the sabbath," doubtless alluding to its arbitrary superstitions. "This man is not God, because he keepeth not the sabbath-day," said the haughty Pharisees of Jesus; and when Jesus was accused of a breach of the sabbath, according to the pha-

risaical strictness, by healing a sick man on that day, Jesus replied, "My Father worketh hitherto, and I also work."* The Apostles comprehended the intention of their Lord, otherwise they would have preferred enduring the keenest hunger rather than have plucked the ears of corn in passing through a field on the sabbath. This was the point of time, at which the ceremonial of the sabbath was manifestly dissolved—or as Lightfoot, deep in Hebraic lore, that "Christian Rabbi" as Gibbon happily designates this prodigy of erudition, quaintly expressed it, this was "the shaking of the sabbath."

Christianity was not established at once, this miracle was denied the world; and the children of the Gospel required the indulgence of tender converts whose consciences, and customs and imaginations could not be weaned on the sudden from those Mosaic rites which for so many ages they had held as imprescriptible.

* A strong light is thrown on this expression of Jesus, as well as on our present subject, by Justin Martyr in his eccentric dialogue with Trypho the Jew—"You see that the Heavens are not idle nor do *they observe the Sabbaths.* If before Abraham there was no need of circumcision, nor *the Sabbaths*, &c. so now in like manner there is no need of them since Jesus Christ." Sect. xxiii.

The habits of these innovators, known in ecclesiastical history as Judaising Christians, were still clinging to the ancient faith, while their convictions had embraced the new. These Jewish proselytes, who are described as "certain of the sects of Pharisees which *believe*," * were indulged for the first half century, in Levitical ceremonies. To these Judaising Christians the antiquated sabbath and even the rite of circumcision were still allowed. St. Paul attended Synagogues on the Sabbath, and joined in the ceremonial part, with a view to obtain proselytes, and this great assertor of the Christian Faith, who had inculcated "the circumcision made without hands," himself circumcised Timothy to humour the rooted prejudices of these wavering Jews.† There was a moment even when the Judaising Christians attempted to reconcile the Code of Moses with the Gospel of Christ. These held a conference

* * Acts xv. 5.

† The intolerant Knox was so greatly confounded at the compliance of St. Paul with the advice of St. James in conforming with the Jewish customs that he might not offend the converts of that nation—that Knox inveighs against what he calls "a worldly-wise council" of both the Apostles, and hardily doubts whether the command of the one and the obedience of the other proceeded from the Holy Ghost. Knox

with the Apostles, which like all such conferences, produced "much disputing," till Peter rising up, and having announced his successful conversion of the Gentiles, protested against a return to their obsolete rites. The Apostle rested his salvation, not on a Ritual, but "on the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ." Proceeding as they now were, with such great success, the Apostle exclaimed, "Now therefore why tempt ye God *to put a yoke upon the neck of the disciples which neither our Fathers, nor we were able to bear?*" This open confession of the Apostle is remarkable. The rites, or rather the ceremonies of Judaism, had sunk into an inextricable mass of the minutest and most harassing superstitions. Religion looked like witchcraft—and the Pharisees, ostentatiously austere, with inquisitorial terror, had inflicted on their people the brutalizing bondage of passive obedience. The attempt to renew these multiplied ceremonies was thwarting the spirit of the mighty Reformation of Judaism,

Knox discovered that the Apostolical toleration was pointed against his own unrelenting conduct to those who however inclined to the new Reformation, yet still looked on the mass with religious emotions. How true is it that men in parallel situations necessarily move on similar principles.—Knox Hist. Ref. of Scotland, i. 143. (Ed. 1814.)

and would have contracted the influence of that more beautiful system which initiated its votaries on far easier terms. A baptism of blood was changed to a baptism of water: mercy and not sacrifice was now the hope of man; the Revelation which had remained incomplete was now accomplished by "the Saviour who had abolished death, and brought life and immortality to light." The early proselytes to Christianity unquestionably would have been diminished in number, had they been compelled to return to the old Jewish bondage.

The leading object of St. Paul's reform was to do away "all the differences of days and times," such as "*Sabbaths*, new moons, circumcision with distinctions of meat and drink. The whole code of Moses was repealed, the rites and ceremonies were declared to be but "a shadow of things to come,"* types of the new Revelation, Judaism was but an adumbration of Christianity.

In the East, Christians chiefly of Hebrew descent still lingered in their old customs; the Jewish Sabbath, and even the rite of circumcision were permitted as indifferent matters, that, as we are told, "the Mother Synagogue might

* Colossians ii. 17.

be laid to sleep with the greater honour."* But in the West the Christian church condemned as heretical the celebration of the Sabbath of the Hebrews; it was mingling the Jewish leaven with the bread of life. As the Eastern Christians had been indulged with Judaic ceremonies, so the Western, consisting chiefly of Pagan converts, were favoured with more exhilarating festivals, instituted on a mythological model, for the heathen proselytes experienced the same reluctance in abandoning their own ancient ceremonies as had the Hebrews.† Those opposite rites and ceremonies of the earliest proselytes to Christianity were imperceptibly introduced into the Church; they have been deemed its corruptions; and the famous letter on the "Conformity of Popery with Paganism" requires as large a supplement on the conformity of Popery with Judaism.

When the Sabbath departed, no new one was substituted, no apostolical precept enforces it; no practice of the primitive Christians warrants it.

As the religious observance of the Seventh

* An expression from one of the Councils. Heylyn's Hist. of the Sabbath, part ii. 21.

† Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. ii. 141.

Grotius in his "Truth of Christianity" has noticed the

day of the week declined, the first day gradually grew into some repute.*

Of customs, whose beginnings only glimmer in the obscurity of ages, it is hopeless to feel about for any palpable evidence. Paley has taken an enlightened view of this subject, aware as he was of the historical difficulties of affixing the Sabbatical character to our Sunday, or even the appellative by which it is honoured, as "The Lord's day." St. Paul and St. Luke only call it "the first day of the week," evidently from the acknowledgment that the Sabbath was the seventh and last day. At first it appears to have been fixed on as a day on which Christians assembled to unite in solemn prayer, perhaps as being in direct opposition to the Jewish seventh day. St. Paul distinguished the first day of the week, and opposed the observance of the Jewish Sabbath, and it was for this reason that those Judaising Christians,

toleration of Jewish rites by the primitive teachers of the Christian faith, book v. ch. 12.

* See Selden *de jure naturali et Gentium juxta disciplinare Hebræorum*, lib. iii. in the 13th and following chapter.

Prideaux "The Doctrine of the Sabbath, delivered in the Act at Oxon, 1622. 4°.

Heylin's Hist. of the Sabbath, part ii 30. — and also, Paley's Moral and Political philosophy, ii. 94.

the Ebionites, rejected his writings, accounting the Saint to be an apostate, as we are informed by Irenæus and Epiphanius.* The primitive Christians abhorred the observance of the Jewish Sabbath, which they held was only practised by the contemners of "the Lord's day." Justin Martyr tells Trypho the Jew, in the full spirit of the times, that "they would gladly endure the most horrible tortures that men and devils could devise to inflict on them, rather than keep *your Sabbath*, and observe *your solemn days*."

It is probable that Sunday, being considered as the day of the Redeemer's resurrection, was hence called "the Lord's day." The first account we find of this impressive term, is in the Apocalypse, chap. i. v. 10, "I was in the spirit on *the Lord's day*." This was written so late as the ninety-fourth year of the Christian era. This Lord's day can only be presumed to designate Sunday. The term is frequent among the prophetical writers, as Cruden's Concordance will show at a single glance. "But," observes Paley, "we find no footsteps of any distinction of days, which could entitle any other

* Sunday no Sabbath. A Sermon by John Pocklington, Doctor of Divinity, Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Lincoln. 1636. p. 10.

to that appellation." So obscure is even the first introduction of the elevated designation which hallows that day.

The Jewish Sabbath and the Lord's day were long wrestling for the mastery; but while the first day in the week received the honours of the Sabbath, it bred some confusion among those whose faith lay in the Seventh. The Judaising Christian, the mild Nazarene, and the fierce Ebionite, sabbathised both days; the Saturday as the day of Creation when all Nature began to live, and the Sunday as the day of the Resurrection, when man was blessed with such certain evidence of a future existence.

About the middle of the second century, Justin Martyr noticed that "upon the day called Sunday they meet together to pray." He styles the first day of the week, the day of the Sun, and assigns the reason for the selection of that day for religious worship, that in it God began the work of creation, and Christ rose from the dead; this was evidently a confused mixture of the Jewish and the Christian creeds. It was these Sunday assemblies which induced the Pagans to imagine that the Christians were worshippers of the Sun, from whom that dedicated day was named. Tertullian who lived much later than this Father, calls Sunday

Dies Solis, and considered it as a festival-day dedicated to mirth and festivity, and not wholly to devotion. He sometimes calls it "the Eighth day," and sometimes *Dies Dominicus*, the Lord's day. After divine service every one returned to his occupations. The apostles had never enjoined their followers to refrain from labour. Peter who was a tent-maker, must be inferred from a passage in the New Testament, to have worked on his tents on a Sunday.

During the three first centuries, the Lord's day was not considered as a Sabbath, nor was it held as such in the fourth. At this period indeed a remarkable circumstance occurred. Constantine, called the Great, whom Eusebius characterises by a single stroke, as "making a church of his palace," enacted laws for the equal observance of Sundays and Saturdays. But Sunday became a more favourite day, for his mingled army of Christians and Pagans would willingly address on the same day, the one in their Church, the Saviour Jesus; the other in the open field, Phœbus, the god of light. No cessation from the business of life had hitherto attended "the Lord's day." Constantine for the first time closed the courts of law, but the peasant and the artisan were seen at their work. After prayers, Sunday was held

as a day of recreation, and on Wednesdays and Fridays they equally communicated together by the order of this Prince, half-Christian and half-Pagan.

In the fifth and sixth centuries when Christianity began to triumph over those anomalous sects into which Paganism had split, "the Lord's day" rose into the same esteem as other festival days. Still, however, through these and six succeeding centuries, we discover some Judaising Christians. Gregory the Great, who adopted so many popular ceremonies into the Church, yet strenuously opposed those who refused to attend to their occupations on the Saturdays, or the Sundays. In their Judaising strictness they refrained even from their baths on Sundays, on which the Pontiff observed, "If bathing be sinful, why then wash the face on that day?"

Under the Gaulish and the Northern Monarchs, the barbarous Christian became more and more Judaical in the strict observance of the Sabbath. The writers of these times abound with legends of miraculous punishments happening to the violators of the Sabbath, or Sundays. We seem suddenly to enter on a history of Israelites composed by doting Rabbins, rather than on the annals of Christi-

anity, dictated by an Apostolical spirit. The Rabbinical genius, in its minute tyrannies, among their Sabbatical superstitions, had forbidden their Jews even making so small a noise as that of rapping their knuckles on a table to still a child; or tracing a letter even in sand, or cutting a cord, or breaking a stick. These pitiful superstitions appear to have been revived in the spurious Christianity of the middle ages, and were actually practised by those Puritans, who emigrated to America. In 1028 Olaus King of Norway, having one Sunday notched and whittled a stick, was reminded that he had trespassed on the Sabbath; the pious King gathered the chips in the palm of his hand, and burnt them on it that thus he might punish the member which had, as he supposed, offended the divine precept. A miller, for mending his mill on the Lord's day, found his hand cleaving to the hatchet. Such superstitious legends prove that the grossest Judaism was a weed not easily to be extirpated from the soil.

For three hundred years after Christ, the most erudite researches have shown that the Christian was bound by no law to the strict Sabbatic observance of the Lord's day, nor was any sort of labour interdicted on Sundays. In

a Council held at Paris in 829 it was determined that " Keeping of the Lord's day had no other ground but merely custom."* More than a thousand years after Christ, elapsed before the Lord's day became distinguished from the usual festivals appointed by the Church. In 1244, in the Synod of Lyons it was included among the holidays.

At the Reformation, Calvin and Beza were anxious that the Sabbatical-Sunday, as a rest of Judaism, should be considered merely as an ecclesiastical day, originating in the appointment of the Church, but not of Divine institution. The Swiss Church in their Confession declare that one day is not more holy than another, nor do they think that a cessation from all labour is any way grateful to the Divinity. To show the world that the Church had authority to transfer the day, it was proposed to change the *seventh day to Thursday;* a change which certainly would have occurred in the Church of Geneva, had the Thursday voters not formed the minority. This proposition, by assuming that there was no distinction of days, was designed to mark their contempt of the Romanist's crowded Calendar.

* Heylin, part ii. c. v. p. 143. who frequently profits by the learned inquiry of Prideaux.

Calvin and Beza accused the Church of Rome of having imbued the minds of the people with Judaism by their frequent festivals and their saints' days.

At length we land at home. What had occurred on the Continent, had been reflected here. The first account we find of any restraint from labour is in the reign of Edward the Third. The same argument then prevailed for establishing Sunday as a Hebrew Sabbath, and met with the same opposition; for markets were opened, public recreations allowed, and trades carried on, after the hours of prayer. At the Reformation, Tyndale remarkably expresses his sentiments to Sir Thomas More, "As for the Sabbath we be lords over the Sabbath and may yet change it into Monday, or into any other day, as we see need; or may make every tenth day holy-day only, if we see cause why."—"All days are Sabbath days!" said Bishop Hooper. Edward the Sixth, our infant Protestant, in the infancy of Protesantism, appointed Sundays among other holidays on which the people are to refrain from their business, yet when necessity shall require, the husbandman, the fisherman, the labourer may work in harvest, or ride or fish at their free will. This was but a half-measure. Elizabeth un-

questionably never considered Sunday as a Sabbath, for she enjoins labour on that, as well as on other festival-days after their common prayer—her language is observable by its indicating that we still harboured some Judaising Christians. "And if for any scrupulosity or grudge of conscience some should *superstitiously abstain from working on those days*, they shall grievously offend." I find Elizabeth granting a licence to one John Seconton to use certain plays and games upon *nine several Sundays*."*

It was however in the reign of Elizabeth, during the unsettled state of the national religion, that a sect arose among those reformers of the reformed, the first Puritans who were known by the name of *Sabbatarians*. These held the Decalogue as of perpetual obligation; and according to their new creed, if the Sabbath-day had been changed, which they doubted, the Judaic rigours of its strict observance were still to sanctify it. Labour and recreation, with those persons, equally profaned the silence and the repose of the Sabbath. John Knox, the great Reformer of Scotland, was the true father of this new doctrine in England, although Knox was the bosom friend of Calvin.

* See T. Hearne's Preface to Camden's Elizabeth.

Calvin deemed the Sabbath to have been a Jewish ordinance, limited to that sacred people with their other ceremonial laws, and only typical of the spiritual repose of the advent of Christ, which abolished the grosser, rejected its rigours, and reproaches those whose Sabbatical superstitions were carnal and gross as the Jewish.* At Geneva a tradition exists, that when John Knox visited Calvin on a Sunday, he found his austere coadjutor bowling on a green. At this day, and in that place, a Calvinist preacher after his Sunday sermon will take his seat at the card-table. Some of our early Puritans who had taken refuge in Holland, after ten years in vain pressing for the observance of the Sabbatic Sunday, resolved to leave the country where they had

* The passage is in the Institutes, lib. ii. c. viii. sect. 34. "Crassa, carnalique Sabbatismi Superstitione, Ter. Judeos superant," or as he has given it in his own translation of the Institute, "Ceux qui la suivent surmontent les Juifs en opinion charnelle du Sabbath." Calvin would observe Sunday, as a fixed day for assembling for religious communion, but divested of all Judaism; not that there is any distinction between days, but the appointment of a particular one is convenient, that all may meet together. After divine service all are free, and he reprobates those who have imbued the poor populace with Judaic opinions, and deprived the working classes of their recreations.

been kindly received and went "to the ends of earth" among the wildernesses of America, to observe "the Lord's day" with the Jewish rigours.* When Laud was charged on his trial for the revival of the Book of Sports allowed on that day, he thought it prudent to deny that he had been the suggester; he however professed his judgment in its favour, alleging the practice of their own favourite church of Geneva.†

* Cotton Mather, Magnalia Christi Americana, fol. 5.

† Thomas Warton in his first edition of Milton's juvenile poems observed in a note on the Lady's speech in Comus—verse 177, that "It is owing to the Puritans ever since Cromwell's time that *Sunday* has been made in England a day of gravity and severity; and many a staunch observer of the Rites of the Church of England little suspects that he is conforming to the *Calvinism* of an *English Sunday*." In Warton's second edition this note was wholly cancelled. It had probably given offence to heads unfurnished with their own national history; thus are popular errors fostered. There was too an error, and one our critic and poet, not versed probably in Ecclesiastical history, might have easily fallen into, when he ascribed to Calvin, the melancholy institution of Knox's Sabbath. Calvin himself was adverse to it. The Scottish Presbyterian who so eagerly embraced the horrible theology of Calvin, as if that were not sufficiently mortifying to man, dropped the only part which might soften the cares of human life, and added to the gloom of Calvinism the ascetism of the most rigorous Sabbath. Warton having discovered himself surrounded by so many difficulties, and

It may surprise us that two of the great friends of Calvin, closely connected with him, and with his system, should have espoused a very opposite doctrine. Knox in Scotland after Sunday having been for 1554 years classed among the festival days, both in the Greek and the Latin churches, as the Anti-sabbatarians maintain, Knox no longer calling this day *the Lord's-day*, but taking some Jew for its god-father, named it *the Sabbath*, and thus disguised its nature and custom.* Knox acquired many advocates in England. Whittingham the Puritan Dean of Durham, who had resided at Geneva and had married the sister of Calvin, likewise differed with his brother, and on his return home appears to have had his mind imbued with a full portion of the spirit of his Scottish friend. This redoubtable Puritan evinced his zeal by defacing the antique monuments in Durham Cathedral, and converting the stone coffins of the Priors of Durham into horse-troughs. Whittingham was a rigid Sabbatarian, and these doctrines must have spread

having unintentionally offended the false delicacy of some, in despair seems to have given up the note altogether, which however only required a very minute correction.

* Pocklington's Sermon "Sunday no Sabbath," 1636.

at London from a circumstance which Strype has recorded. At Paris-garden, where public amusements were performed on Sundays, a crowded scaffold gave way, and by this accident some were killed and many wounded. The Lord Mayor sent notice of it to Lord Burleigh as a judgment of Heaven for the violation of the Sabbath; and the Recorder chronicled the event in his Diary under the head of "a punishment of the violators of the Sabbath." This doctrine therefore must have been general in 1582.*

The nation was therefore prepared in 1595 to receive these Sabbatic doctrines in a systematic form by a Dr. Bound. The book excited a ferment among the people; the Archbishop called in the copies, and the Lord Chief Justice forbade the printing, as inculcating doctrines not acknowledged by the Church and the laws of the kingdom. The suppressed work however continued to circulate in manuscript, and, being prohibited, was the more

* Strype's Annals, iii. 140. The Puritan Neal, who alludes to this transaction, profoundly observes that "the Court paid no regard to such remonstrances, and the Queen had her ends in encouraging the sports, pastimes and revellings of the people on *Sundays* and holidays."—i. 262. 4to.

eagerly read. When Whitgift was no more, an enlarged edition appeared in 1606. This book has hitherto eluded all my enquiries; yet it may be considered as the source of those conflicting opinions, which in the subsequent reigns of James and Charles, so long agitated the nation, respecting the mode in which Sunday should be observed, whether with the rigour of a Jewish Sabbath, or with the recreations of a Christian holiday?

Dr. Bound's doctrine of the Sabbath reigned paramount for several years, and as our quaint Fuller expresses it, "not so much as the feather of a quill in print did wag against him;" and Heylin more elegantly confesses that "in very little time it grew the most bewitching error, the most popular deceit, that ever had been set on foot in the Church of England." The pious could not reasonably object to an act which at least bears the appearance of morality and religion, though it may stand unconnected with either; but a serpent was imagined to have folded itself under this "Rose of Sharon." The Puritans having failed in their open attacks to subvert the Hierarchy, and even the Monarchy, from the time of the Mar-prelate faction, it was now supposed to be striking more covertly, and that Dr. Bound's doctrine was an arrow

drawn out of their quiver.* This Doctor was a root-and-branch Reformer, for he had thrown out a broad hint that all other holidays might be safely put down as Papistical institutions which arbitrarily had raised ordinary days to an equality with the Sabbath.

On Dr. Bound's Sabbath, scholars were forbid opening their books, lawyers to peruse briefs, justices to officiate, and even the throne itself was rebuked, for it enjoyed no privilege to be occupied on that day with temporal concerns or idle pleasures. The whole kingdom was thrown into this bondage of Jerusalem. Nor did this "bewitching error" end here. Some stood up for abrogating the Lord's day by a positive return to the perpetual Sabbath-day, the Judaic Saturday; while others, in their disturbed zeal, equally observed both days.

This novelty was too well adapted to seize on the imaginations of the unthinking multitude, who, naturally religious, are awed by the

* Compare Collier's Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain, ii. 643, with Neal the historian of the Puritans, i. 386, 4to edition. Collier indicates Dr. Bound's opinions in his Index, as "Singularities touching the morality of the Sabbath." The learned Henry Wharton in a marginal note on Laud's Diary on the term "Sabbath," says "For so these Puritans styled and accounted the Sunday." 214.

ascetic forms of religion; they imagine that they become more spiritual in the degree that they remove themselves from all corporeal humanity; as if mortals were born to be as if they had not been born, so dead to all the affections of their nature! In transferring the rigours of the Jewish Sabbath to the Lord's day, the contrast among the people was not only melancholy but even ridiculous! All the business and the recreations of life suddenly ceased; no cattle were led to the water, no provender was procured for the horse, no wine was to be sold, and if a "godly" servant could be prevailed on to prepare the Sunday dinner, she saved herself from the sin of washing the dishes. A Sabbatarian lady had all her days longed to bless her eyes with the sight of royalty; when Charles and Henrietta were on a progress, Heylin offered to procure her this favour; but the lady refused seeing a King and Queen on "a Sabbath-day." Dr. Bound had proscribed all feasts and wedding dinners, but he inserted a clause which does no honour to the integrity of his piety, for he absolves "Lords, knights, and gentlemen of quality."*

* Fuller's Church History, book ix. 227. Dr. Bound's notions are accurately referred to by Fuller, whose impartial narrative and citations are a substitute for the original.

To cast a bowl, to ring even church bells more than by a single toll, even to talk of news or business, were sins, and ranked with murder, and adultery, and even at a later period, a Sabbath-breaker became as an excommunicated man.

A gloomy and anti-social spirit was fast prevailing among the people in their "preciseness," as this new system was termed. Puritanic persons had deprived the populace of their accustomed festivals and pastimes on the Sunday afternoons after divine service; festivals and pastimes, the poor man's inheritance, his unbought enjoyments, the leisure of his servitude, the common solace of the ancient friendships of the village! At a period, when the papal Christians still maintained some political influence, the Catholic priests were busily insinuating among the lower orders that the Protestant religion was nothing more than a sullen deprivation of innocent enjoyments, and we are told, that this argument was not unintelligible, and had sometimes succeeded in "turning the people's hearts." Scotland had already put down "Pasche" and "Yule" and other cheerful holidays as "superstitious times." James the First, in one of his progresses, found the people in Lancashire discontented, by the austerity of

their puritanical Sundays; and on his return home the King issued his "declaration" for "liberty on the Lord's day." "With our own ears we heard the general complaint of our people." His native good-humour and his deep policy, combined, to sympathise with the querulous multitude, and to ward off this popular shape of Puritanism. The Royal declaration is usually known as "the Book of Sports," but it was soon contemptuously nicknamed "the Dancing Book." James had heretofore received a lesson in Scotland, from these sour Sabbatarians; and when he cast his eyes over Christian Europe, that Monarch could not discover any reason why in his kingdom alone the Sundays after church-time, should become a day of tribulation and self-denial—the people being prohibited from their pastimes of archery, leaping, May-games, and morris-dances, which encouraged the common people to a common amity, and inured the bodies of sedentary artificers by athletic exercises.

Scarcely was the memorable and unlucky "Book of Sports" thrown among the people, than in their inquiry after the nature of the Sabbath, they discovered, to their amazement, that every thing concerning the nature of a *Christian Sabbath* was uncertain and question-

able. The Sabbatarian controversy then re-opened.

The difficulties of the investigation rose in proportion to the number of learned tractates which appeared either in favour or against the strict observance of the ancient Sabbath. What day is the Seventh? It is any day, after six days. Which is the beginning and the end of the Sabbath? Does it open at cock-crowing, or does it last from even to even? It was considered that neither the day, nor the hour were material; for Time having a circular motion, and its divisions being themselves but artificial, it was sufficient, if the due portion of the Sabbath be completed. There were who asserted, that Sunday was a working-day, for that Saturday was the perpetual Sabbath; while, in this controversy, some disturbed at counting the first day for a Seventh, persevered in hallowing both days as Sabbaths. It was on the occasion of a bill "for the better observance of the Sabbath called Sunday," we learn from a private letter of the day, that a Member of the House presuming to sneer at the Puritans, observed that if Saturday was *dies Sabbati*, it might be entitled a bill "for the observance of Saturday commonly called Sunday." Our unlucky wit had the good fortune to be only expelled the

House, whose proneness to Judaism, at a later period, might have led them to renew the Mosaic lapidation.

The opinions of the Sabbatic-Sunday were so unsettled, that when Fuller wrote his Church history of Britain, that honest historian shrunk from the Sabbatarian controversy, and has curiously arranged his history on this subject into three columns, of "Sabbatarians, of moderate men, and of Anti-Sabbatarians," without interposing any opinions of his own.

James and Charles were alike condemned by the popular prejudice; and though the present was one of their least politicel errors, if truly it were an error, heavily was it visited on the last Sovereign. The Parliament's armies usually chose Sundays for their battles, that the profanation of that day might be expiated by a field-sacrifice, and that the Sabbath-breakers, the Royalists, might suffer a signal punishment! James the First would have started with horror at his "Book of Sports," could he have presciently contemplated on the Archbishop and the Sovereign who persisted in its revival, being dragged to the block. By what invisible threads does fate suspend together the most remote events! It was not to be imagined that the consciences were to be disturbed, and the

opinions distracted of the English people, because they had fallen into a peculiar practice when compared with their European neighbours. Even to a much later period, the prejudice against these Monarchs had lost none of its bitterness, none of its unrelenting hatred, for the presumed impiety of sparing the people the melancholy indolence of a Puritanic Sunday. So late as in 1711, a writer in his strictures on the Lower House of Convocation's representation on the growth of Infidelity, Heresy, and Profaneness, maintains that "this deluge of impiety and licentiousness must be traced to the wicked Book of Sports of James and Charles. Charles the First renewed that war against Heaven which his father had impiously begun," and he discovers no other cause in "the rebellion" but that of "the Sabbath-breakers!" *

But this became no dispute of a mere theological dogma; "the Sabbath" was now a party-term taken up in opposition to the term "Sunday," to distinguish the Court from the popular party; and it seemed no longer to involve a case of Ecclesiastical judicature, when

* See a folio pamphlet entitled "The Representation examined, being Remarks on the State of Religion in England." 1711.

it raised up a banner under which was to be fought the terrible contest of civil and political power, and to which flocked the subverters of the government.*

* In a suppressed passage of Hume, of his first quarto edition, p. 151. he treats with some philosophical levity the change of the term *Sunday* to the *Sabbath*. "This is a difference about a few unmeaning syllables, but as the controversy betwixt the Church and the Puritans, did not altogether regard theological dogmas, but involved a dispute concerning Ecclesiastical, as well as Civil power and Government, that controversy must be allowed in some of its Articles, to have been of much greater importance." Perhaps he erased this passage on maturer consideration, when he found that it is impossible to separate the theological part of the contest from the political; the theological being often the ostensible, but not always the real cause of the civil war.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE CAUSE OF THE REVIVAL BY CHARLES THE FIRST, OF "THE BOOK OF SPORTS" FOR RECREATIONS ON SUNDAYS.

We must consider the Puritanism that was spreading among all ranks, as that counteraction which usually occurs in human affairs. The prevalent jealousy and dread of Papistry had forced scrupulous minds to become what was sometimes termed "precise." This new mode of opposing superstitions had however many of its own. Some good men, but far more fantastic and conceited persons, imagined that it was wise to be "righteous over much" rather than to revert to the Romish ceremonials, as "the dog returneth to his vomit;" yet these very persons were fast restoring the corruptions of rabbinical Judaism.

The Prelacy had been openly attacked; a more covert blow was now aimed, by affecting

a Judaic strictness in the observance of "the Lord's day" which the Puritanic now began to style emphatically "The Sabbath."

The divinity of the Lord's day was new divinity at Court, says a contemporary historian,* and it may be added was so throughout England. At Court, so far were they from practising any austerities on Sundays, that it was their custom, "Time sans memorie," not only to hold privy councils, but to reserve this very day for their more splendid amusements the Masque — the Pastoral — and the Play. Even among the lower orders, Sunday had long been held the most convenient festival day for the pastimes of the people; and more particularly for the celebration of those numerous church, or parochial holidays, whose traces still linger among our northern counties, and were then held to commemorate the dedications of churches to their patron Saint, or to consecrate the memory of some munificent founder. That many of these festivals of the people were the remains of old Pagan and Hebrew customs, was better known to a later age of inquiry than the age of Charles the First. They had however long been converted to Christian purposes. The profane erudition of

* Hamond L'Estrange, Reign of Charles the First.

the Puritans of that day was not very extensive and their authorities were usually limited to the old and the new law, which they appear to have sadly confused between the literal and the typical meaning. They had, it is true, a due abhorrence of the Saints which crowded the Romish calendar, and grudged even to bestow on Paul and Peter their titular honour. They now attempted to abolish these parochial festivals, on the plea, that they were profanations of "the Sabbath."

From time immemorial our rude and religious ancestors had preserved their country wakes, festivals held through the night, and which in fact, as their title imports, were the ancient vigils. To strew rushes on the floors, and to hang fresh garlands in the church were offices pleasing to the maidens; the swains encountered each other in their athletic recreations of wrestling, cudgelling, and leaping, or melted the hearts of their mistresses, by their Morris-dances, and May-games; above all they feasted liberally, the rich spared not their hospitality, all doors were opened, all comers welcomed; all looked forward to their wake-day, and old friendships were renewed, and little enmities were reconciled, at a joyous wake. Some of these festivals were called Church-ales. The

people after divine service on Sundays, resorted to the churchyard, and after partaking in the same common enjoyments, and copious potations of a subscription ale brewed by all the strength and care of the district, they left some token of their honest piety for the service of their parish-church, to cast a bell or to repair a tower, and dropped their mite into the alms-box. There were Clerk-ales where the parishioners sent in their provisions to the Clerk's house and came to feast with him. The Clerk was the vendor of his own brewings, his profit and his reputation were at stake, and by the zealous libations of his friends, a half-starved Clerk, eked out his lean quarterage, by these merry perquisites. There was also a Bid-ale, a feast of charity, where a man decayed in his fortunes, gathered the generous bounties of his neighbours at this Sunday holiday. All these holy festivals and public spectacles, well provided with good fare and barmy ale, concluded with rural games in May and a Yule-block at Christmas. These Wakes, and Ales, were long a singular mixture of piety, benevolence, and mirth. The delightful poet, the happy painter of our by-gone manners, and the faithful recorder of our once country-customs, has described the Wake in verse as exhilarating

as these rural revels themselves. I will not forbear their transcription.

Come Anthea! let us two
Go to feast as others do.
Tarts and custards, creams and cakes
Are the junketts still at WAKES,
Unto which the tribes resort
Where the business is the sport.
Morris-dancers thou shalt see,
Marian too in pageantrie;
And a mimick, to devise
Many grinning properties.
Players there will be, and those
Base in action as in clothes;
Yet with strutting they will please
The incurious villages.
Near the dying of the day
There will be a cudgel play,
When a coxcomb will be broke
Ere a good word can be spoke.
But the anger ends all here
Drencht in ale, or drowned in beere.
Happy Rustics! best content
With the cheapest merriment,
And possess no other fear
Than to want the WAKE next year.*

That these village Saturnalia were not always associated with the innocent simplicity which the Devonshire poet fancied, could only be an

* Herrick's Hesperides.

inevitable consequence of the revelries of an English populace. Swains were too fortunate, and maidens too tender; the ales were too potent, and the wrestlers too pugnacious. Our own people may yet learn something from the decencies of the populace of the Continent. Is it still a remnant of our insular rudeness that our rustics imagine that their boisterous freedom is never freedom till it is proclaimed by the Riot Act, and till the general carouse is concluded by man-slaughter? The commemorations of these festivals were charged with such licentious acts; the charge seems to have been aggravated, and these disorders were but local and occasional.

It is certainly a singular circumstance, strangely discordant with the after-conduct of Charles the First, that in the first and in the third year of his reign, two statutes passed, the one entitled, "An Act for punishing divers abuses committed on *the Lord's day called Sunday*;" and another for "the further reformation of sundry abuses committed on *the Lord's day commonly called Sunday*." No unlawful pastimes were to be allowed, carriers are not to travel, nor butchers sell their meat, &c.; customs certainly which had heretofore been practised. It is also expressly said that "the holy

keeping of the Lord's day is a principal part of the true service of God which is now profaned and neglected." In no part of these statutes can I find the term "Sabbath," otherwise this last sentence is a remarkable specification, perfectly accordant with the notions, and delivered in the style of the Puritans.

This would seem inexplicable, unless we conjecture that when Charles the First held his Parliaments, these statutes were contrived by that party. Heylin declares as much; he says that "the Commons had *gained* these acts."* As they did not go so far as to abolish these Ecclesiastical festivals, but only professed their better regulation, at that moment no objection was started from the Government side. It is probable that the remarkable specification of "the holy keeping of the Lord's-day," was designed by those who drew up these statutes, as a preliminary to the future introduction of the novel term "Sabbath." That term was not as yet to be found in the laws of England.

It is curious to observe, that when James the First composed his advice to his son Prince Henry, touching on the present topic, he provides that "the Sabbothes be kept holie." This was his style in the land of John Knox.

* Cyprianus Anglicus, p. 241.

In his new dominions of England that term was entirely thrown aside. The Puritanic rigours of a Sunday were however gaining ground even in the reign of the father of Charles the First, and more particularly among the civic corporations, as the son lived to experience. The conduct of a Lord Mayor under James the First has been recorded as an example of his piety, and it may be added of his prudence. The King's carriages removing to Theobalds on a Sunday morning, raised a clatter in the time of divine service. The Lord Mayor commanded them to be stopped; the officers returning to his Majesty made vehement complaints. The King warmed and swore he thought that there had been no more kings in England than himself, and dispatched a warrant to the Lord Mayor to let them pass. The Puritanic chief magistrate obeyed observing, "While it was in my power I did my duty; but that being taken away by a higher power, it is my duty to obey." The shrewd sense of this Lord Mayor produced a compliment from the King.

The doctrine of the rigid Sabbath was rife when Laud was Bishop of London. A circumstance will show the character of these city Sabbatarians. Sir Nicholas Rainton the Lord

Mayor, prosecuted a poor old apple-woman for retailing her small stores on Sundays in Paul's Church-yard; Laud insisted that she should continue her harmless living on Sundays in the Church-yard, threatening, that should the Lord Mayor again interfere in his jurisdiction, he would complain of him to the King and council. Another Lord Mayor in 1629 issued his warrant against those "who profane the Sabbath-day by buying and selling." Laud excepted against it as intruding on his Episcopal jurisdiction. These anecdotes are maliciously given by Prynne, who concludes "Such was this profane Archbishop."*

The land seemed threatened with that renovated Judaism which, not many years after, triumphantly rabbinised the whole realm. Judaical opinions had been broached by one John Thraske,† who among other absurdities had insisted that the Levitical ritual, relative to meats, &c. was also of perpetual ordinance. Now one Theophilus Bradbourn dedicated a treatise to Charles the First, in which he demonstrated that the Jewish Sabbath was to be kept with the rigid observances of the Hebrews, being a perpetual and moral obligation for

* Canterbury's Doom, p. 132.

† In 1618. Fuller's Church Hist. x. 76.

mankind, while Sunday was an ordinary working-day. These Judaising Christians, whose Bibles had disordered their heads, had their followers; and Heylin tells us that there was a tendency in the people to "downright Judaism."* All these theological reveries were fostered by the novel doctrines of the Sabbatarians. Bradbourn however when brought into the Court of High-Commission submitted to a conference, where he had the good fortune to discover that his arguments were untenable, and to conform himself to quiet and orthodoxy.

As profanations of "the Sabbath," the Puritanic party had often protested against the Ecclesiastical festivals which we have described. It was now attempted to sanction their opinions. At the request of several country magistrates at an assize in Somersetshire, Lord Chief-Justice Richardson issued an order for the utter suppression of these popular festivals, and further ordered that all ministers should publish his order from their pulpits.

The Bishop of London, startled at this usurpation of the jurisdiction of the Church, and this abolishment of days of ecclesiastical appointment, complained to the King. The Chief-

* Cyprianus Anglicus, 243.

Justice summoned to the Council-board, argued as a sound lawyer; appealed to the recent statutes, and alleged many precedents of such assize-orders, for the suppression of these festivals from the reign of Elizabeth.* Law was babble, when divinity was jealous. The Judge was severely reprimanded by the Bishop for having assumed a power over Ministers, without the consent of the Bishop of the diocese; and commanded him to revoke that order at the next assizes, in the same public manner in which he had given it, as he would answer the contrary at his peril. On leaving the Council-board the indignant Judge, as much in rage as in dejection, shed tears, and when asked by Lord Dorset how he did? replied, "Very ill, my Lord, for I have been almost choked with a pair of lawn sleeves."†

Laud desired the Bishop of Bath and Wells to inquire concerning "the late noise in Somersetshire about wakes." The conduct of the Lord Chief-Justice, acting without the Bishop's consent in pretence of reformation, said Laud,

* Prynne in his "Canterbury's Doom" has collected a number of these assize orders, which sufficiently vindicate the proceedings of the Judge. 152.

† Heylin's Cyprianus Anglicus, 243. Prynne had already furnished the anecdote.

had gone on a principle that "any thing that is abused may quite be taken away;" that disorders which might have broken out in those feasts instituted for good purposes ought to be prevented by the Justices of Peace themselves. Laud hints that "the Humourists were increasing much in those parts, and unite themselves in banding against the feasts, as his Majesty has been lately informed."

That the suppression of these rural festivals was considered as an affair of the anti-prelatic or Puritan party, appears by the reply of the Bishop of Bath and Wells. Having dispatched his missives through all the deaneries of his diocese, the Bishop received the testimonials of his numerous clergy, from distant parts of the county, protesting against these suppressions; they were desirable for the people; the wealthy maintaining hospitality, and the poor being cheered by these feasts of religion and charity, where the differences between neighbours were often happily composed by this meeting of their common friends, and alleging other reasons for their continuance.* The disorders com-

* The correspondence between Laud and Pierce the Bishop of Bath and Wells is interesting. The Bishop has described these "Country feasts." When Prynne ransacked the cabinet of Laud, he found these letters, and published

plained of had been greatly exaggerated, and worse occurred in fairs and markets, where a constable was sufficient to put them down.

After the reprimand of Laud at the Council-board, the Chief-Justice at the next assize, without acknowledging any error, revoked what he called "the good orders" which he had formerly issued. The country magistrates troubled at the revocation, prepared a petition. They were evidently of the Puritanic party, for the petition was sent up to London to be secretly submitted to "Master Prynne," that head of all "the Humourists!" Prynne was waiting the arrival in town of the Lord Lieutenant of the County, to have it presented to the King; but early intelligence had been sent to Laud; and it was during this interval of twelve days, that Laud by a vigorous measure

them in his "Canterbury's Doom," signature V.; they were indorsed by Laud "My Lord of Bath's certificates about wakes in Somersetshire." They reflect no discredit on either party; one earnestly inquired after the truth, and the other laboriously furnished the information. Prynne according to his notions, notes on the Clergy, seventy-two in number who signed the certificates which they sent from their different residences, that "they were the deboystest (the most debauched) and worst in the county." We perceive the bitterness with which this party-affair was beginning to stir up.

induced the King to revive his father's Book of Sports to be allowed on Sundays.

The ostensible object of these dissensions was not the real one. With some it was not so much the suppression of the Wakes as the establishing the Sabbatic-Sunday; there were others with whom it was not so much the establishing the Sabbatic-Sunday as the political opposition to the Government, of which this served as one of the most popular pretexts. So human affairs are strangely combined together! All religion seemed now to exist in the rigid observance of "the Sabbath:" the rising party rang this alarum, and the nation was artfully divided into Sabbatarians, and Sabbath-breakers.

Neal, the historian of the Puritans, at this point of his history, makes this reflection. "Here we observe the laity petitioning for the religious observation of the Lord's day, and the Bishop with his clergy pleading for the profanation of it." This was a conclusive argument for whoever had not entered into the history of the Sabbatic-Sunday in England. The people would have wondered to have learnt that Archbishop Laud accused *them* of superstition!

The motives which urged the revival of the

Royal declaration concerning lawful sports on Sundays, appear by some artless memoranda which Laud never suspected would have seen the light. They are these. "A general and superstitious opinion conceived of that day—a book set out by Theophilus Bradbourn 'Judaism upon Christian Principles'—which had perverted many—a great distemper (disorder) in Somersetshire upon the forbidding of the wakes in the sourness of this opinion—an act of a Judge that rid that circuit—his Majesty troubled with petitions by some of that county—his Royal father's example upon the like occasions in Lancashire."

Laud could not as a prescient statesman foresee the result of approaching events—that the times had altered, Laud had yet hardly discovered—and that at a crisis, it is not always wise to be looking for a precedent, was a philosophy too comprehensive as yet to have been recognized. In the narrow limits of his political experience, he did not act without premeditation. He sought for an authority for the measure he adopted by referring Charles to his Royal father's example on a similar occasion, and he was certain that the precedent would prevail; for Charles on many critical

* Prynne's Canterbury's Doome, numbered, p. 418.

occasions seems rarely to have acted from his own suggestions. In the great struggle in which Laud was now engaged in the religious commonwealth with the rising power of Nonconformity, he probably contemplated on a deeper object. By commanding that the edict should be read by the parochial ministers, he was numbering the dutiful sons of the Church, and marking out her disaffected members. The "Declaration" would be a test of concealed Puritanism. It was a strong measure; but the zealous Laud, as his old master James the First had said, was at all times "tossing about" for strong measures, and it has been his ill-fortune to be judged of by their result.

On the issue of "the Declaration," a consternation spread among the clergy; Laud seems not to have been aware that the opinions of the clergy themselves had of late fluctuated between the prevalent sectarian notions and the former customs of the country, and indeed of all Christian Europe, except the land of John Knox. Some imagined that they saved the violation of their own consciences by deputing the clerk to promulgate the obnoxious act; one having read it, and afterwards the fourth commandment, told his parishioners that "they had now heard the word of God and the injunction

of man, and they were to obey which they pleased." If Laud by this test of Uniformity discovered the obedient subjects of the Church, he might have been alarmed at the considerable number of ministers ejected, or suspended by his authority, and against their will thrown into the ranks of the Non-conformists.

Many extraordinary works were now sent forth to enlighten the public mind on this obscure or misconceived topic of the Sabbatarian controversy. The most curious for their erudition were on the side of the court; indeed the investigation could only be carried on by the most extensive researches; it was to ascertain the customs and practices of different ages since the foundation of Christianity. The inquirers who deemed the Sabbath an abrogated institution, considered it was superstitious to observe the extinct Sabbath of the Hebrews, which distinguished the Jews from other nations. They assumed that in its own nature it was neither moral nor perpetual; Jesus "had nailed all the ceremonial law to the cross," and the old law which had begun with Moses had ceased with Christ. The moment the controversy turned on the sentiment or the opinion of the writer, it became fanciful and contradictory. The most absurd reasonings were alleged

to extricate themselves from the perplexities in which they were involved. Those who appealed to the fourth commandment for perpetuating the Jewish Sabbath, yet had changed the hallowed seventh day into the first of the week; this was a perplexing objection. If the first day of the week, as the Lord's day, had been appointed by the Church as a festival day, by what authority was it to be regulated by the rigid observance of the Sabbath?

The short history of Dr. Pocklington, an eminent divine, is a part of that of the Sabbatarian controversy, and his fate may serve as its close.

Dr. Pocklington had published a sermon which had excited great attention, entitled "Sunday no Sabbath," in 1636. Here he had sharpened many keen passages against the prevailing Puritanism. Five years afterwards in 1641, when Puritanism became parliamentary, he was selected as the first victim. He had articles exhibited against him, drawn from his own writings. There is "a petition to the Lords by J. H. of Cardington in the county of Bedford, Gent." This puritan gentleman has also undertaken the office of controverting what he calls the Doctor's "Jewish and popish superstitions and anti-christian doctrines." It

is curious that both parties recriminate on one another their tendency to Judaism.

Pocklington having affirmed that the day which they nicknamed the Sabbath is either no day at all, or not the day which they mean, the Puritan replies to this; "*Sabbatum* signifies a day of sacred rest consecrated to God, whence all such days are in Scripture called *Sabbaths*, as well as the Seventh day. Therefore the Lord's day may be so termed, without any danger of Judaism, as well as Easter is still called *Pasca*, and Whitsunday *Pentecost*, the Jewish words and institutions." The ingenuity of the answer is superior to its logic. By changing its first position he eludes the question altogether. He does not prove Sunday to be the Sabbath, otherwise than as any other day may be, according to his assumption. The retention of the Israelitish terms and festivals in the Christian system was a remarkable circumstance; they were the remains of the early Judaising Christians.

At a committee of many Lords in the painted chamber, the unfortunate Pocklington, had to defend his theological opinions in the articles now brought forth in judgment against him. Our Puritan, of this trial both publisher and commentator, assures us that "The man was

not able to make any reasonable defence, for his parts and learning had quite forsaken him, and he had nothing left in him but anger and passion to manage his cause, which provoked all good Christians to praise God who had given his Truth such a weak enemy, and error such a foolish patron."

Pocklington before this committee of Peers, who were sitting to decide on nice and obscure points of historical theology, might have been both impatient and indignant. Their sentence deprived him not only of all his ecclesiastical livings, dignities, and preferments, but held him incapable hereafter of holding any place or dignity in the Church or in the Commonwealth. The last critic who was to take in hand his unlucky "Sunday no Sabbath" was to be the common executioner, and the last copy was to flutter in the flames. The Puritan "Gentleman" who has sent down to us the discomfiture of the learned Doctor, has not noticed the discomfiture of the Committee of Peers who were now doing the drudge-work of the Puritanic Commoners. It is from another quarter I discover that when Dr. Pocklington was accused and censured, he was also to perform the penance of a Recantation. Persisting in his former opinion, he gave his Recan-

tation a quaint and novel form. He said, "If *Canto* be to sing, *Recanto* is to sing again;"* that is, he would only repeat what he had first said. So that the man whose "parts and learning" had so suddenly deserted him, at the last, recovered all their energy. It is said, that the party designed to have further punished his contumacy, but as Pocklington died in the following year, his death has afforded Walker in his Sufferings of the Clergy, another victim, whom he describes as dying "in a manner heart-broken." But the honourable courage which marked the learned Doctor when before the Committee of the House of Lords, though they had cruelly deprived him of the means of existence, would hardly have forsaken him in so short a period.

When the strength and glory of England were placed in the hands of the Puritans, their extravagant conduct on many national objects was never more visible than on their Sabbatic regulations. It seemed as if religion chiefly consisted of the Sabbatarian rigours, and that a British senate had been transformed into a company of Hebrew Rabbins. In 1650 an act

* This curious anecdote may be found in "Lowth's Letter to Edward Stillingfleet." p. 56. 4to. 1687. Neal has acknowledged that Pocklington refused to recant.

was passed for inflicting penalties for breach of the Sabbath, some of which included dancing and singing, or travelling in a boat, on horseback, or in a coach or sedan, except to church. This exception occurred on the remonstrance of one of the members of the House of Commons complaining that "in their zeal they had tied the Godly from going to Church by water or coach, for that he coming from Westminster to Somerset-house to sermon, had his boat and waterman seized for the penalty." The perverted feeling and the misconception of this race in respect to the Sabbath, had appeared as early in the reign of Charles, as in 1637, when many emigrated to New England. In their code of laws, among the Sabbatic prohibitions under severe penalties are these, "No one shall run on the Sabbath-day, or walk in his garden, cook victuals, make beds, sweep house, cut hair or shave." "No woman shall kiss her child." These were the grossest Rabbinical superstitions.

At length having prohibited Sundays as days of recreation, and abolished all Saints' days, or festivals, the common people evidently murmured at the deprivation of their periodical holidays. The feelings of the people were more natural than their Parliament, even in

the gloomy land of Puritanism. This must have been the occasion of a remarkable ordinance issued in 1647 concerning "days of recreation allowed unto scholars, apprentices, &c." The second Tuesday in every month was set apart for the holiday of these persons, when it was ordered, that "all windows of shops and warehouses shall be kept shut on the said day of recreation."

Our kingdom of the Godly must have been the scorn and ridicule of other nations, while they were regulating the police of an Empire as if they were dwellers in the land of Canaan. What was the result of this spurious sanctity, this fantastic renovation of the Israelite's Sabbaths? When Sectarianism bred all monstrous shapes, and irreligion so easily assumed the garb of piety, after having observed the Lord's day with these Judaic rigours, a reaction took place among those who now rejected the observance altogether, pretending to that elevated holiness which kept all days as Lord's day. A popular preacher at the Temple, who was disposed to foster a cheerful spirit among the common people, yet desirous that the Lord's day should not pass undistinguished, declared that "those whose hands are ever working whilst their eyes are waking, through the whole week, need

their recreations on the Lord's day," but that Sundays should be observed with strictness and an abstinence from all recreations, only by "persons of quality" who had the whole week for their amusements.

Such were the opinions and practices of the Sabbatic Sunday, of the Government of Charles the First, and of the Puritans.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE SEAS.

In every history of England, the reader may find what I shall now quote from Hume, that in 1636 "a formidable fleet of sixty sail, *the greatest that England had ever known*, was equipped under the Earl of Northumberland, who had orders to attack"—what, with the greatest fleet England had ever known?—"the herring busses of the Dutch which fished in what was called the British seas."

Sixty sail equipped to claim "the tenth herring!" and which when the affrighted fishermen, and the States of Holland at length agreed to compound for, by a duty or tribute for licence to fish, amounted to thirty thousand pounds. This truly had been a wanton prodigality of the hard-wrung ship-money, for as a financial speculation the British cabinet must have been convinced *prima facie*, that they

were securing a heavy loss to the Royal treasury.

In political transactions, it is a very rare absurdity, as runs the proverbial phrase, "to break an egg with an axe;" but what is not rare, is, that the public are accustomed to decide on public events by their obvious pretext. The real motives, and the secret occasion which induced Charles the First to put forth these formidable preparations against these Dutch fishermen, were not comprehended by the writers who have calculated the profits of the herring-fishery to the Dutch, and envied their happier success in the art of curing them, and still less have they been understood by those depreciators of the unfortunate Monarch, shortly to be noticed, who have cast a malignant obscurity over the magnanimity of Charles the First in a momentous trial of the character of a British Monarch.

This trivial incident of the herring-fishery is connected with one of the most important subjects of our foreign relations, that of the English monarch's claim to the sovereignty of the sea—a claim then disputed, and often since resisted.

The dispute about the herring-fishery occurred in 1636, but to take in the subject in all its

true bearings, we must look for its beginning, two years preceding that event. Dates are often the most positive arguments in history.

It was in July 1634, that from intercepted letters in Flanders, the Spanish Resident in London furnished very important information to Charles the First. In this correspondence of the Prince of Orange with the Dutch Ambassador in France there was transmitted a copy of proposals by Cardinal Richelieu to the States. That enterprising Minister had projected to combine the French armies with the fleet of Holland, in order to surprise Dunkirk and Gravelines, two ports which Spain retained in the Austrian Netherlands. The plan was to be effected with such secrecy as to be concealed from the English monarch, lest he should not consent to it, and to be so sudden that the Cabinet of Madrid should not have time to frame a league with that of Whitehall.

Charles, on this information, acknowledged without reserve, that these secret practices and confederacies of the French and the Hollander were dangerous to both Crowns—and that the Dutch had grown more insolent since they had become victorious. At this moment these new States were powerful at sea, they had recently taken an English merchant-ship, and had openly

declared that they would confiscate any, which traded with the subjects of Spain. Charles was therefore ready to join with Spain to frustrate their designs, but it was hinted that he was yet unprovided with the means of fitting out a great naval armament, and the danger, however imminent for Spain, did not press immediately on England. The Spanish Resident having by this acknowledgment felt his ground, now showed that he was furnished with ample powers both to supply monies and to conclude on articles.

Of this secret treaty we have three papers, as these passed through several variations, in their progressive stages. They offer a striking specimen of Charles's application to business. In each careful revision, the King with his own hand made several material interlineations, and he has distinctly endorsed these three papers as "Old—New—Newest."

The treaty was concluded in August 1634, but the Armament was not to put to sea till the Spring of the following year. In order not to arouse the vigilant observation of their neighbours, this great fleet was to be gradually increased—and at first only twenty sail were contemplated. It was agreed that the *pretext* of this arming should be to free the coasts of

Great Britain and Ireland from the pirates of Barbary, and to protect the fishery. There was a secret article that his Majesty of Great Britain should give secret instructions to the Commander of his ships, that should they meet Spanish ships in an action with their enemies at open sea, the English should aid them, in case the Spaniards were overmatched, and to use the words of the treaty "taking some convenient pretext to justify it, that the Hollanders may not hold it for an act of hostility."* Such is the mysticism of politics! This article must have strained on tenter-hooks the understandings of our most dexterous diplomatists, who when called on to explain, were to convince the Hollanders, that while we were their assailants, we were, notwithstanding, at peace with her.

There was still a more remarkable article. In "the Old" paper, it was mentioned that "the English ships shall use their best means that the subjects of the King of Spain shall receive no wrong, and that *his Majesty's Sovereignty and dominion in these his seas*, shall be preserved from violence and insolencies on *both sides*." The English in fact were conscious that their "Sovereignty of the Sea" was equally disput-

* Clarendon Papers, i. 215.

able with their old ally and their new rival. The Spaniards thus objected to the offensive phrase—"It is certain Kings do enjoy their Sovereignty in whatever is their's, and do not acquire it, where they have it not, *though they use the word;* but in Treaties such terms are commonly avoided." It is curious to observe, that in this instance, treating on equal terms with his ally, Charles the First, struck out the words "his Majesty's sovereignty and dominion in these his seas shall be preserved," and with political courtesy, reduced the regal assumption to "his Majesty's subjects shall be preserved." Thus while the Government was insisting on "the Sovereignty of the Sea," from one part of the world, and was sending forth a vast armament "to scour the seas, and to sink, or to be sunk, if any strike not sail to the English Admiral in the narrow seas,"* in the silence and wisdom of the Cabinet, such was the delicacy of the claim that it was waived in a treaty of alliance with a friendly power; a remarkable instance of the accommodating style of Politico.

But claims of this nature though they are

* Such were the instructions which the Lord General declared he had received, as appears by a letter from James Howel to the Earl of Strafford.

suffered to lie in abeyance, are in fact never yielded. I find, three years afterwards, when the state-policy of the two Courts was again suffering a change, that on the complaint of the Hollanders, who refused to pay the English for a protection which the Spaniards did not regard, when the Ambassador of Spain would have replied to these complaints, "his Majesty," writes Secretary Windebank, "fairly and roundly answered the Ambassador that he will maintain his sovereignty of the seas, and defend those who acknowledge his sovereignty against any power, or prince whatsoever."*

This then was the true cause of equipping one of the most formidable fleets which ever issued from our ports since the reign of Elizabeth, and that this was the great object of Charles the First is confirmed by a variety of very interesting circumstances.

The subject indeed at this moment so deeply engaged the thoughts of Charles the First, that having learned that Selden had formerly composed a work to vindicate the maritime rights of the English monarchy, the King desired the author to revise it for publication, and so highly approved of the erudition and the authority of that illustrious antiquary, that the King com-

* Clarendon Papers, ii. 4 and 9.

manded that three copies of the work should be perpetually preserved in the Council-chest, the Court of Admiralty, and the Court of Exchequer, to be valued as a record.

Such was the origin of the famous *Mare Clausum* (The closed Sea) of Selden. The title is an evidence that Selden had in his mind the *Mare Liberum* (The free Sea) of Grotius. But though it was an answer to the general principles of that other great heir of fame, the object of Grotius was entirely different. We are astonished to find that Whitelocke, a great lawyer and even a statesman, has fallen into the inconceivable error that Grotius published his treatise of the "Mare Liberum," on the affair of the herring-fishery, when in fact it was published nearly thirty years before, and for a very different purpose. Whitelocke probably only recollected the title of the treatise of Grotius; as a patriotic Britain, he would confidently appeal to the book in "the Council-chest," or at "the Admiralty." Our Memorialist has however sadly misled several modern writers, who doubtless either on his authority, or trusting to the contrasted titles of the two works, have committed the same anachronism, and thus repeating that the disputes on the herring-fishery had produced the treatise of

Grotius, they have ventured to perpetuate a fact which had never occurred.

We smile that the subject of the sovereignty of the sea should have so long formed an intricate discussion among jealous nations and philosophical jurists, since that knotty point has long been cut by the sword. An exclusive dominion mutable as the winds and the waves — a desert of waters where occupancy only could give possession, ceasing in the liquid road with the wake of the ship — was by some presumed to be but a chimerical empire. That which we cannot keep, is not ours, and that which all men can possess without our consent, cannot be appropriated to any one. The power which only begins with our presence and ceases in our absence, can never be deemed sovereign. Others have asserted that we may remain masters of the sea even when we do not actually possess it. On the plea of maritime rights, the circumfluent waves constitute a part of their own shores, and maintain the security of a kingdom. "But whether the law of nations warrant any further pretensions may be questioned," observes Hume. The Duke of Somerset, the Protector, declared that Britain was surrounded on all sides by the ocean, as the securest rampart against her

enemies; hence we may infer that an insular nation has its own policy, distinct from its neighbours.

Our maritime dominion was protested against by those whose national interests induced them to claim the universal freedom of the seas. When the Hollanders were rising into an independent empire, they became indignant at the exclusive navigation of the Indies by the Spaniards and the Portuguese, and aspired to divide that world, which their old masters concealed as it were in darkness from Europe. Grotius, then the Attorney-general of Holland and Zeland, vindicated the liberty of the seas, and the "Mare Liberum" appeared in 1609. The property of the sea he declared was a violation of the law of nature and of nations—the sea and the air, like the light of the sun, could not, as the earth, be appropriated, for their divisions were impossible. To contest the freedom of navigation was to destroy navigation itself, breaking a tie which should unite all nations, and throwing the universe into confusion. The treatise of Grotius was an appeal to the feelings of those nations, whose superiority at sea remained doubtful. They are still employed in refuting Selden. A memoir in the French Institute, in the days of

Napoleon, revived the controversy, and accorded the palm to the declamatory Hollander, resisting the colossal erudition of Great Britain's antiquary, whom Grotius so honourably to himself, distinguishes as the glory of England.*

The *Mare Clausum* of Selden remains among the monuments of the human mind. Profound in disquisitions on the nature of dominion, and stored with the inexhaustible researches of all human learning, Selden explored for his principles his own mind, and for his precedents the history of nations. In his patriotism he gave England the sovereignty of the four seas, while his erudition furnished them with a less disputable possession than that ideal sovereignty in the work itself; where in the many-coloured languages of his page, we discover the Hebrew of Solomon Jarchi and the Talmud, with the Arabic characters of the Koran.

The Dutch Ambassador Joachimi appears to have obtained an early copy of Selden's book,

* The memoir which I read at the time is I presume that which the Biographie Universelle ascribes to Gerard de Rayneval, published in 1811, who we are told has invincibly refuted the arguments of Selden. One would imagine that the French Diplomate had sent forth a French marine, greater than the fleets of England!

which was dispatched by a courier to the States-General. It was considered tantamount to a declaration of war, and Joachimi received secret orders instantly to return home on pretence of attending his wife's funeral, but really in order to confer on a point too delicate to confide to paper. Already the English fleet was at sea, and the affrighted Dutch busses were flying in all directions. Many distracted councils were now held, and the pride of the new Republic painfully contended with their prudence. It was proposed to send out a Dutch fleet to escort their fishermen, which long after was done, and refuse the florin duty levied for every two barrels,—but it was considered that negotiation might be a wiser method than battle. They resolved on seizing a favourable opportunity which now presented itself—the birth of a Princess—to dispatch an Ambassador extraordinary to the British Court, with Royal gifts, not only to congratulate the Father, but to engage the Monarch, if possible, to desist from his imaginary property over the seas.* On this occasion the States-General displayed a more refined taste than usual in flattering

* Gerard Van Loon in his voluminous Histoire Metallique des dix-sept Provinces Unies, has furnished some details of this critical state of affairs.

the elegant tastes of the English Monarch, probably prompted by the suggestions of their resident Ambassador from his personal knowledge of Charles the First. Mr. Cornelius Beveren, the Lord of Stravelshock, came over to England, and entered Whitehall not as a stern Republican, but as a discreet courtier offering the amicable presents of his masters. Precious amber, transparent china vases, a chest of the finest linen the unrivalled manufacture of Holland, and the mechanical wonder of a curious clock, which the King of Sweden had found in the cabinet of the Duke of Bavaria when he took Munchen and had sent to the Prince of Orange—were trivial elegancies which Charles instantly consigned to the Queen. But several fine horses, and above all, four inappreciable pictures—not from their own native and depreciated school but from the more classical easels of Italy—the master-pieces of Titian and Tintoret, were gifts no man more highly valued than the King. Whitelocke who has noticed a part of this little anecdote remarks, "It is supposed they did this to ingratiate the more with our King, in regard his fleet was so powerful at sea, and they saw him resolved to maintain his dominion there."

James the First had proclaimed his right

"to restrain foreigners from the fishery on his own coasts without his licence," but a proclamation had never induced a foreigner to pay for a licence, yet as James always liked a book, he had read over and approved the manuscript of the Mare Clausum, but he lost the glory of its publication, for either his pacific measures or some other cause, suffered the manuscript to lie neglected many years in Selden's study. Charles declared the Fishery to be "a right and royalty of inheritance incident to our Crown"* and his fleet had more explicitly asserted the sovereignty of the sea. The States had remonstrated; but the English cannon pealed! The Lord of Stravelshock was therefore but partly successful in his solemn and courteous embassy, and if he could not get rid of the sovereignty of the seas, he however adjusted an annual contribution from the States of thirty thousand pounds for the liberty of the fishery. The naval dominion of England was established.

There was however no peace among the Juris-consults, and Selden was not allowed to partake of the triumph of his Royal master. Graswinkel, the pupil of Grotius, had displayed

* Clarendon State Papers, ii. 9. The language of Charles used for the same purpose, but on a different occasion.

so much learning and such consummate ability in a manuscript treatise on these contested points, that he was pensioned for it, by the States-General, and a new office was created for him under the title of Advocate-General of the Marine, but these honours were acquired on a very singular condition; that some of the Deputies of the State should carefully examine his work, and that *it should not be published!* So desirous was the Republic at that moment of terminating a discussion which had already occasioned the annihilation of their fishing fleet, and a tributary treaty. It was a subject, as a statesman among them, wiser than the Jurisconsults, observed, which the pen could never decide, but which the sword would.

It is however a curious circumstance in the history of the human mind, that though every judicious person was convinced of the inefficacy of a volume to maintain, or to abrogate, the sovereignty of the sea, still each nation looked with a fond eye on the book which cherished their own prejudices, and supported their own interests. Neither the doctrines of Selden, nor those of the suppressed Graswinkel, were neglected at an after-period by their respective nations. When the Commonwealth of England went to war with the States of Holland,

Marchmont Needham published a translation of the "Mare Clausum," castrating the dignified dedication to Charles and substituting his own servile adulation of the Commonwealth. On this occasion the States-General altered their former opinion respecting the publication of the manuscript of their Advocate-General of the Marine; Graswinkel was now sent forth to oppose Selden, as well as the fleet of Holland to encounter the fleet of England,—their fates were alike, for Selden answered, and our cannon was fatal to Van Tromp. It may seem strange that when two powerful nations have decided on war, they should look to philosophical theories, or the inky combats of closet-idlers, as auxiliaries in their cause, but practised statesmen know how susceptible are the imaginations of the people, who not always knowing what they fight for, sharpen their patriotism by intricate discussions, and carry on a war with great spirit, when it is the result of a system of thinking,—an assumption of arbitrary principles, equally passionate and temporary.

The conduct of Charles the First in vindicating the British power in the dominion of the British seas, by requiring the foreigner to strike his flag to the flag of England, avowing the

Sovereignty of the sea as his principle and maintaining the principle by the deed, is one of the most magnanimous acts of his reign, and one which must ever constitute the peculiar characteristic of an English monarch. In this great incident in our history from his first step to his last, we may justly commend his inviolable honour, and his unalterable decision; his inviolable honour, because the moderate, if not the scanty supply which Charles the First had drawn from ship-money had been sacredly set apart for its great national object: his unalterable decision, because the mind of Charles the First had been fully impressed both by the greatness and the necessity of this enterprise. The seas were swept by our friends as well as by our foes, and even the distant pirates of Barbary had dared repeatedly to descend on the Irish coast.

England may sometimes wisely relinquish a military position on the Continent, but when may she yield the royalty of her seas? When Venice dropped her nuptial ring into the Adriatic, who smiled not at the pageant hero, who slunk away from his ravished bride? but England is embraced by the ocean itself—or as one of her admirals said in Charles the Second's reign,—married to the sea. It is our trium-

phant navies which have extended a narrow insular dominion, till England has risen the arbiter of her neighbours, and, as it were, become herself the neighbour of the most distant powers.

This great naval enterprise was therefore no wild scheme of ambition, no capricious act of power. It adjusted the political balance of Europe, while it was achieving the secret wish of the people who were murmuring at the ship-money. Besides the volume of Selden, which Charles the First held as the record of his title to his maritime dominions, the King had shown his earnestness to improve the state of his navy, and to display to the world, a model of naval architecture, worthy of him who claimed the sovereignty of the seas. He called forth the genius of Phineas Pett, the great shipwright who had been patronised by his father, and particularly by his brother Prince Henry. Charles frequently visited the dock-yard at Woolwich. It was in one of these visits that the King held a private conference with Pett, in which the King himself projected the plan of this great ship of war, and Pett travelled to the North to obtain timbers of an extraordinary dimension, and manufactured materials expressly adapted to this marine citadel. In the great dock at Woolwich at length appeared

"that miracle of ships," as Lilly calls it. It exceeded in its magnitude, its workmanship, and its magnificence, any ship which England had put to sea, or, as it is said, in the world. It became a popular object of curiosity, and not only their Majesties, but multitudes flocked to wonder at this floating castle. This ship of war was a favourite object with Charles the First, and the cost was more than royal, of which when reminded, he gave that noble but severe answer, and which, though I have already noticed it, deserves here to be repeated. "While some nobles prodigally spent their patrimony in luxurious courses, nothing either to their credit, or their reputations, or beneficial to the kingdom, as King, he might be allowed to build that ship for his pleasure, which might be useful for the service of the kingdom."*

* This ship of war is minutely described in Strafford's Letters, ii. 116. It was of 1637 ton, which by an accidental coincidence was the very year in which it was finished. In respect to the name of the ship some difficulties have occurred. It has been erroneously called "The Royal Sovereign," and in a passage in Strafford's Letters I find "My Lord of Northumberland had the happiness to light on the name which most pleased the King, 'The Sovereign.'" Even contemporaries differed about the name of this ship. Later writers call it "The Sovereign." The right name is extremely important on the present subject, to show what was

Two other remarkable memorials which the King has left his country attest his own sense of the glory, and the patriotic pride of his own claims. Charles the First struck several medals to commemorate the glorious event after the treaty with Holland, which may still be seen in the cabinets of the curious ;* and in St. James's park, there stood, and doubtless now stands, a cannon which was emphatically called "the gun," it was cast in the year 1638, bearing this inscription,

Carolus Edgæri sceptrum stabilivit Aquarum.

"The sceptre of Edgar established on the waters by Charles."

Such was the venerable antiquity of the regal

passing in the mind of Charles. And now it may be finally ascertained, for the builder himself, in his auto-biography, has preserved the expressive appellative. The King himself commanded she should bear the name of "The Sovereign of the Seas." I recollect in an evening lecture at the Royal Institution, Mr. Knowles, F.R.S. of the Navy-office, favouring us with an interesting view of our Naval architecture, and exhibiting a draught of "The Sovereign of the Seas," which ship for that period he considered a master-piece of the art. Of Phineas Pett, the great Naval architect, there are some memoirs in the Archæologia, xii. 217. and the MS. of his life is preserved at the British Museum.

* It is an extraordinary omission in Evelyn's rambling work on Medals, that he should not have noticed these testi-

claim. A cannon which bears an argument is royal logic, and would seem in more than one respect, irrefragable. It is possibly a delicate allusion to the work of the great master of our antiquities, who had deduced our maritime dominion from the first Sovereign of England.*

The pirates of Sallee, who had revolted from the Emperor of Morocco, headed by a rebel who was called the Saint, by their descents and depredations on the Irish coasts, among other disgraceful evils had carried off into captivity numbers of our countrymen. These pirates were now extirpated. Charles was anxious to confer particular honours on Captain Rainsborough, the commander in this successful expedition, and when this "experienced and worthy seaman," as Secretary Coke describes him, declined the honour of knighthood which the King himself offered, Charles ordered that his naval hero should be presented with a costly gold chain, and with a medal of not less value than three hundred pounds. This memorial of loyal service may perhaps still

monies of the triumph of Charles the First, and of England. Nor are they in Pinkerton's Medallic History of England. I have seen some in the collection of British Medals at the British Museum.

* Mare Clausum, lib. ii. cap. xii.

exist, should not very opposite family feelings have melted it down in the days of the Rump.

The Moorish Ambassador appeared mounted on horseback, in his train four grooms led four Barbary horses, which showed their mettle in their paces, richly caparisoned, the saddles studded; and the captives mostly clad in white who now had returned free men to England, passed through the city, where it was also known that the Ambassador was the bearer of a treaty of alliance and commerce. Even Strafford imagined that "this action of Sallee is so full of honour that it will bring great content to the subject, and help much towards the ready cheerful payment of the shipping monies."* But doubtless there were many who like Mr. Brodie, now that the expedition was successful, were finding out reasons why it ought not to have succeeded. Ancient is the cry of what we moderns call the Opposition!† The poet

* Strafford's Letters, ii. 129—132.

† "The success of the measure arose entirely from an accidental event," observes Mr. Brodie; "it is said that intestine commotions opportunely assisted the attack."

The plan was concerted with the Emperor of Morocco, who in the preceding year had sent over to England an envoy with a proposal that he should attack the place by land, while the English assailed it at sea. By what licence of

Waller may soothe the manes of Charles the First for the insults he is doomed to receive from our contemporary. Waller has composed a poem on the taking of Sallee. The poet like most persons was attracted by the novel spectacle of the Moor—the mettled palfreys—the Christian captives:

Morocco sends the Chief among his Peers
Who in his bark proportioned presents bears,
To the renowned for piety and force
Poor captives manumised, and matchless horse.

Alluding to the lawless democracy of these pirates, a couplet more happily applies to our present purpose.

Safely they might on other nations prey;
Fools to provoke *the Sovereign of the sea!*

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style can a preconcerted measure be said to have terminated in "an accidental event?"

We writers of history, I suspect, appear anomalous beings to the amusing inventors who luxuriate in these idling times in florid trifles. They who hardly allow themselves to be influenced by the temporary passions of their own day may well wonder at the serious interest which leads us on pursuing Truth through the labyrinths of Time—in plain English—in the history of the Past. Yet were this interest not real, and were the detection of error and prejudice not one of the most poignant relishes of our studies, how could I have discovered what I assert I have, that Mr. Brodie finds pleasure in depreciating a successful bombardment of Sallee, merely from a personal quarrel with Charles the First?

CHAPTER XIX.

CAUSES OF THE INACTION OF THE ENGLISH FLEETS.

CHARLES the First was doomed to war with Fate! The narrative of his glory must ever terminate with that of his misfortunes. This Monarch had first set that noble example which his successors in government have scrupulously followed, whether a Cromwell, a Stuart, or a Guelph. The sovereignty of our seas will ever remain a part of our insular policy, yet Charles the First was himself to witness the reverse of all his hopes. The humiliated Sovereign of the seas was to suffer a national insult even from those whom he had subjected.

It is worthy the curiosity of Englishmen to become acquainted with the complicated events by which this great naval design became utterly frustrated. It often happens in the history of Charles the First that his accusers have not

developed the peculiarity of his situation, while they have reproached his conduct. Even when their reproaches may not be unjust, truth has required a different statement than they have afforded us. The subject of the Sovereignty of the Sea is a remarkable instance of this.

We have shown the exertions which were required to equip the most formidable fleet which England had ever put to sea, and the scrupulous honour of Charles in employing the moderate revenue of the ship-money to this great national object. Yet notwithstanding these efforts, in the course of three years we find this great fleet inactive; our flag no longer honoured by the French, the Hollander, and the Spaniard, and to reach the climax of national disgrace, the English Sovereign received the European affront of witnessing the neutrality of his ports violated by two nations, in defiance of his express command. It is only a mind most perverted in its political feelings which can imagine for an instant, that Charles was tamely insensible to this national outrage—he who had maintained with such elevation, not only this Sovereignty of the sea, but at the same critical moment, as we shall shortly show, was asserting the independence of his government against the foreigner. It is evident that

causes which have not been explored by our historical writers, must have been secretly operating to have occasioned such a fatal reverse.

At this period two strong parties equally balanced, divided the Cabinet. Lord Holland and Secretary Coke had adopted the French interest, in opposition to Lord Cottington and Secretary Windebank, who were warmly attached to the Spanish. A personage of no inferior importance in the naval history of this period must also be considered. This was the Lord High Admiral of England, Algernon, Earl of Northumberland.

An idea of the condition of our naval affairs we obtain by some letters of the Earl of Northumberland. In February 1636-7 two querulous letters to Strafford represent the miserable state in which the business of the admiralty was conducted, which was then in commission. Northumberland had been appointed Admiral of the summer fleet. "It is not declared who shall command the King's fleet. If that charge be committed to any other body, I shall not envy him that hath the honour of it; for I profess to your Lordship, to whom I shall ever speak freely, that as it is now managed, it is not an employment fit for any person of honour."

A few days after we find, "the King hath this day told me privately that he is so well satisfied with my carriage in his service the last summer, that he intends again to employ me this year, which I should willingly have declined had I known handsomely how to avoid it. I perceive some others of whom the King is not very confident have been suitors for the employment, and if four pounds a-day whilst I am abroad be the only reward for my service, truly I would have wished it in another hand."

This is no heroic strain! However we learn two months afterwards, that the King in person at a Committee of the Admiralty, called together the officers of the Navy to answer the abuses alleged against them by the principal commanders—little said by them in their own defence. Some reform was agreed on, and after admonition from the King on "hope of their amendment," he graciously dismissed them.

Again, "If the King have not more use of his fleet than is yet known, he may well save one half of the charge, and give me leave to stay at home."

Three months after, July 1637, a letter dated on board the Triumph in the Downs, prolongs the same desponding tone. They were extremely idle, no directions for the disposing of

the fleets. "When men go several ways and are led by private ends, they are not only long in coming to resolutions, but do often destroy public designs." He continues in a nobler strain than the former one of "four pounds a-day when on board." "To ride in this place at anchor a whole summer together without hope of action, to see daily disorders in the fleet, and not to have means to remedy them, and to be in an employment, where a man can neither do service to the State, gain honour to himself, nor do courtesies to his friends, is a condition that I think nobody will be ambitious of." *

How much may be subtracted from the amount of these querulous dispatches, or how far they may originate in a youthful nobleman who had not yet reached the point of his ambition, who shall say? One thing appears, that there was a strange unaccountable inaction in the fleet. However disorderly was the general conduct of the navy, and tedious and mysterious its inaction, a bright beam is suddenly thrown over the late darkened picture, in the mind of Northumberland, when in March 1638, "his Majesty conferred on him an honour beyond his expectation," by creating him the

* Strafford's Letters, ii. 51, 67, 71.

Lord High Admiral. This Royal grace, Northumberland ascribes to a friendly conversation which Strafford had formerly had with him in Sion Gallery. We are now told that "the King taking into his consideration the inconveniences of having his navy and sea-affairs governed in this conjuncture by a Commission, is pleased to think me worthy to be trusted with that charge, and declared in Council that hereafter he purposed to make his son the Duke of York Admiral of England when he should be fit for the execution of the place." The Earl indicates the parties which then divided the Court. "Till all was resolved and concluded, very few but the Queen knew any thing of it; one presently retired to Kensington (Lord Holland?) and other pretenders are nothing well pleased to see this office thus disposed of."

But the navy was no longer Sovereign! The Cabinet was involved in the same mystery, and the same indecision of measures, left the navy of England idling in its harbours. Sometimes we hear that the summer fleet was in movement, dispersing here and there; or a squadron under the Prince Elector is gone, God knows whither! till it returned, after a cruise. The only real expedition was the squad-

ron sent against Sallee. Meanwhile the French were increasing their naval force, were preying on our commerce, and returning apologies for our remonstrances, till Lord Leicester, our Ambassador at Paris, strongly urged more offensive measures on our side to balance our complaints —"Let us complain and redress on both sides, but while we are doing one and not the other, we shall get no relief here." Licences for the fishery were now considered as superfluous by the Hollander. The British fleet might have exacted the tribute, but when the Dutch busses found twenty sail of their own stout men-of-war by their side who was to be the tax-gatherer? One of our Captains offered, but they fired a salute in the air, and afterwards pretended that they had asked for licences. At length in 1639 the honour of the British flag was openly insulted.

Spain by a last desperate and exhausting effort to preserve her expiring dominion in the Netherlands, unexpectedly sent forth an Armada carrying an army of twenty-six thousand soldiers. This formidable expedition gave rise to the most extravagant rumours: it could however only have been designed to reinforce their army in Flanders and to encounter the fleets of France and Holland. As was their

usual custom, they considered that the magnitude of their galleons would have rendered them irresistible against the lighter vessels of their enemies; but when they met with a Dutch fleet off the Downs, not a fourth in number, and the Hollanders active in their movements, got the wind in their favour, these bulky sailers were found unmanageable. At the sound of the cannon, Van Tromp hastened to join his countrymen, and after a furious fight, when ships had been sunk on both sides, the shattered Spaniard retreated to the Downs, and anchored in that road of Dover which in the diplomatic style is called "The King of England's Imperial Chamber," whose protection and security is to be kept inviolate from the inroads of hostile nations. At this moment the weaker Dutch respected it, but having been abundantly supplied at Calais with powder by their good friends of France, they anchored at a convenient distance.

The Spaniards showed no disposition to quit their retreat, secure in the protection of England, while the Hollanders were receiving hourly reinforcements. Each fleet was watching the other, while the ministers of the two nations were not less anxiously engaged in presenting their memorials at Whitehall: the Spaniard

imploring the King to keep off the Dutch for two tides, and the Hollander protesting against any aid being afforded to the Spaniard.

The case was critical—and the agitation was extreme on all sides. Charles was only anxious to preserve the neutrality of his own harbours. Bound as the King was in one common amity with these powers, he sometimes exclaimed, "Would to Heaven that I were well rid of both!" The distress of the Monarch was of a singular nature. If Charles drove out the Spaniard from his port, he hurried them to an unequal combat and inevitable destruction—if he assisted the weaker party, he was himself the violator of that sacred neutrality he claimed. Meanwhile Charles was about incurring the disgrace which he at length received, for if he commanded them both to quit the Downs and neither would obey, his honour was not the less blemished than when they at length openly violated the neutrality of his port, and insulted the protection of the King in his chamber.

Another perplexity, originating in the suspicions of party, had no little influence on the King, who as Warwick expresses it, was "harassed by his own subjects and the Admiral favouring the popular party." The most mali-

cious rumours had been spread by the discontented party here, of the pretended design of this Spanish fleet. These rumours must have been very general, for the sage Whitelocke has chronicled them. "This armada was believed by many to have been designed for an invasion of England, and many discourses *pro* and *con* were vented about it." It was even said, as Nalson tells us, that Charles was in a secret confederacy with the Spaniard to establish the Romish religion and arbitrary Government, which terrified the common people out of their wits and their allegiance. When now we read the State Correspondence of the times, we are struck by the strong delusion of such factious inventions. The Spaniards who could not defend themselves from a Dutch fleet, were imagined to invade that kingdom in whose ports they were imploring a refuge. Nonsense although a base metal, soon becomes a current coin, when the people stamp it with their passions.

At this critical hour, the Lord High Admiral seems not to have viewed as a statesman, the peculiar political position into which his Royal Master was thrown. Northumberland indeed was by no means averse to immolate the Spaniard to the Hollander, who, he acknowledges,

was hourly expected "to assault the Dons." We have seen what he and the party to whom the Earl belonged, felt on this extraordinary occasion. The scheme he suggested to the King evinces little zeal, or deficient ability. While he seems aware of the indignity which Charles was likely to receive from the decision of both parties, he advises the King to command both fleets out of the Downs. The Earl writes, "his Majesty's designs are a little to be wondered at, that he should endanger the receiving an affront and expose his ships to much hazard, rather than command both the Spaniard and the Holland fleets out of the Downs. He saith now that at his return to London on Saturday next he will appoint a time for them to depart out of this road." It was probably on this advice that the King dispatched the Earl of Arundel to the Spanish Admiral to desire he would retire on the first fair wind, while Vice-admiral Sir John Pennington who lay in the Downs with thirty-four men of war informed the Dutch Admiral that he had orders to act in defence of either of the two parties who should be first attacked.*

* During the three weeks of this extraordinary conjuncture of affairs, a treaty had been concluded between Charles and the Infant Cardinal at Brussels, that for the sum of

But when the Spaniard was bid to be gone as Northumberland suggested, did he go? He delayed his departure with new excuses day after day. If the wind were favourable they wanted powder — or masts from the King's stores, before they could stand out at sea, while the Hollander grew more insolent as they increased in number. They had now a hundred sail, besides fire-ships. When the Spaniards pleaded, as one excuse for their delay, their want of powder, that great naval hero, Van Tromp, sent them an offer to supply them with five hundred barrels to be paid for at the usual rate, and if they wanted masts from Chatham he would send his own frigates to tow them, if they would weigh and stand out at sea! Once favoured by the darkness of the night, and it was supposed under an English pilot, the Spaniards succeeded in sending off to Dunkirk fifteen vessels with three thousand men, which raised a clamour both in France and Holland as if Charles had violated his neutrality in this instance. On this occasion Van Tromp, who appears often to have expressed himself in language as original and fiery, as was his

150,000*l.* to be paid instantly, the English Monarch would protect the Spanish fleet, to its destination, till it was moored in some port in Spain.

action in combat, said that "having his hands full of flies, it was impossible but some of them would escape through his fingers." Secretary Windebank who records this anecdote as a rhodomontade greater than any of the Spaniards, little knew then that the man who had delivered it could not use ideas too great to express the energy of his own deeds, and his lofty scorn of his enemy. Van Tromp was so popular with us, that several English gentlemen, no doubt of the discontented party at home, went abroad as volunteers. The Dutch Admiral told them that he imagined the Spaniards were waiting for the stormy weather, to get that by running which they despaired by fighting, and in that case, "if they keep lying so near the shore, the King of England would have their guns, the country their wreck, and the devil their men."

Such an extraordinary state of affairs could not last; the crisis was looked for at every hour. The Dutch asserted that a shot from a sentinel, possibly accidental, had been fired by the Spaniards at the barge of Van Tromp, and a dead body was sent to the English Admiral, as evidence that the neutrality of the King of England's harbour had been violated. The attack soon after commenced; few escaped

of the Spanish fleet. It is said Van Tromp appointed a squadron to keep the English at a distance. The plea of the Dutch that they waited till their patience was exhausted, and the reluctant apology of their ambassador, made for the sake of form, were mere pretexts, to conceal what had been resolved on by the States-General, for we now know that Van Tromp had orders not to attack the Spaniards till he had been joined by various squadrons, and then in case the English would not remain neuter, he had positive commands to fight both one and the other. This political revelation we draw from D'Estrades' correspondence with Cardinal Richelieu. The Cardinal had desired the Prince of Orange "to give orders to his admirals to engage the Spanish fleet in the Downs, notwithstanding the protection which the King of England seemed inclined to give them."

It has been a question how the English conducted themselves at that moment. Dr. Lingard says, "Pennington remained a quiet spectator." Was the Vice-Admiral kept off by the ships sent towards him? Our people seemed to have been more earnestly employed in seizing on the sinking Spaniards and saving their wrecks from the Hollanders. They however

actually fired on the Dutch from their batteries and their ships, for Van Tromp, writing to the Comte de Charost, adds, "but as far as we can judge, the fire of the English was intended rather for a feint than from passion."*

Thus ingloriously for Charles terminated this singular incident, which the exulting negociator of France describes as "the most illustrious action which could be thought of, that of defeating the fleet of Spain in an English port, though assisted by English ships." And the Infant Cardinal at Brussels told Sir Balthazar Gerbier that his Majesty of Great Britain, by this attempt of the Hollanders, had received a greater blow than the King of Spain. So lofty was the sense of Castilian honour! In the Council of the States-General when some objected to attack the Spaniards in an English port, whence might ensue a rupture between England and Holland, it was insolently answered, that the King durst not break with them, and if he durst, they feared him not, and rather than suffer the Spanish fleet to escape, they would attack it though it were placed upon his Majesty's beard! In their ancient style the States-General had formerly sued for the protection of England, under the humble

* Griffet, xxi. 233.

designation of "the poor distressed States," but they had recently titled themselves "High and Mighty."

What causes had thus fatally operated on our maritime affairs? How happened it that the great fleet of England which had showed itself in triumph, was paralysed by inaction? This mighty navy which had vindicated the Sovereignty of the seas in the short period of two years we find directed to no single point, ingloriously lying in its harbours. To know these causes, we must attempt to trace what was silently operating on the mind of Charles.

Early in 1637 I find Charles, in a confidential communication to Strafford, alluding to an approaching alteration in his foreign politics. The object is always the same eternal dream of the restoration of the Palatinate. Lord Arundel had returned from his inefficient embassy to Vienna. Charles was now convinced that all negociations were useless. From Austria he got only civility, and from Spain promises, but from the Duke of Bavaria himself, who had taken possession of the Palatinate, the plain stern language of a soldier, who swore that what the sword had gained the sword should preserve. An English Monarch who would acquire conquests on the Continent by

the eloquence or the high rank of his ambassadors, without an army, is liable to incur the insults of even the petty military powers of Germany. The noble Arundel, who assumed a princely state in his embassy, was so little considered, that he thought proper to leave Vienna without taking leave, and an Envoy of one of those petty Princes scornfully observed that "our English ambassadors were fit only to pick poultry."

Our cabinet, divided as it was into two opposite parties, was now more than ever convulsed by its fluctuating measures. A league was proposed with the Protestant Princes, the allies of France; these coalescing with Holland, Denmark, and Sweden, were to reinstate the sister and the nephew of Charles the First in the Palatinate. But Charles acknowledges to Strafford that he is quite incompetent to join his new allies with troops. "I have professed that all my warfare must be by sea, not by land."

The King proceeds, "what likelihood there is that upon this I should fall foul with Spain you now may see as well as I, and what great inconvenience this war may bring to me, now that my *sea-contribution is settled*, and that I am resolved *not to meddle with land armies*,

I cannot imagine, except it be in Ireland, and there too, I fear, not much, since I find the country so well settled as it is by your diligent care. Yet I thought it necessary to give you this watch-word, both to have the more vigilant eye over the discontented party, as also to assure you that *I am as far from a Parliament as when you left me.*"

This confidential dispatch was sent in February 1636-7. I do not know whether we are to read the last lines as a patriotic regret, or a confirmation of unalterable decision. Why were they written? They are not sent down in passion. Strafford, as well as other ministers, we know was friendly to Parliament. Were they in reply to a suggestion of Strafford's to call a Parliament? I incline to think they were dictated by a sorrowful conviction according to his own notions, or from more recent knowledge, that Charles could discover no relenting animosity in the party who he concluded were his personal enemies. One point is here proved, that Parliaments at least were not utterly dismissed from the mind of Charles.

From this period we may trace the indecisive measures of Charles the First. He was not yet the open friend of his new allies, nor was

he yet hostile to the ally whom he was quitting; for the treaties were sometimes retarded by the cabinet of the Louvre, and the States-General, or the Prince of Orange, had conflicting interests with England. Spain was indeed alarmed at this awful conjunction, and her Ambassador hastened to Charles with offers to restore the Lower Palatinate, and with a promise to procure the Upper, from the Duke of Bavaria for a compensation in money. He further proposed that if England would join his master with twenty thousand men and her fleet, the Spaniards would take the field with as many Brabanters, and their combined army should place Languedoc and Normandy in the hands of the British Monarch. This rhodomontade of the affrighted Don was an artifice intended to decompose the elements of this perilous combination. The projected league of the various parties had become the subject of public attention two months after the King had written to Strafford. A famous news-letter writer of the day thus describes the state of affairs. "Our new patriots and statesmen here cry out let England, France and the Low Countries join together, they will quickly bring the Spaniard on his belly. 'Tis true these truly conjoined would do much, but upon what

terms doth England stand yet with either of them? Farther off with the Low Countries than we have been a long time, and for France things come on much slower than we expected." This was a true statement of political affairs. Another season was suffered to elapse, which however was interrupted by the beginning of the troubles in Scotland in July and October 1637. It was in November of that year that Cardinal Richelieu attempted to seduce Charles by his offers to aid the King against those of his subjects whom the Cardinal called "his rebels."

But Charles' attention was now roused to his own domestic affairs. Our fleet however still existed, and in 1638 the sovereignty of the sea was still present in the anxious minds of the English. A well-informed writer of the day observed, "The long treaties between the French and the Spanish are now near a conclusion; the Dutch will not be left out; then have at England for *the dominion of the seas*."*

But rapid was the approaching change, and the state of affairs is strongly painted by the Lord High Admiral in January $16\frac{38}{39}$—"I assure your Lordship we are altogether in as ill a posture to invade others as to defend our-

* Strafford's Letters, ii. 181.

selves—the discontents here at home do rather increase than lessen—the King's coffers were never emptier than at this time, and to us that have the honour to be near about him, no way is yet known how he will find means either to maintain or begin a war without the help of his people."*

One cause of the inactivity of the fleet may be traced to the change in the foreign policy of the Cabinet, which prevented any decisive measures from being adopted; and when at length, it became necessary to chastise the indignities which England was daily incurring, from the encroaching Gaul, the insolent Hollander, and the haughty Spaniard, the Monarch, seeing his honour was compromised, was glad to accept the futile apologies of the foreign aggressors. He who in politics accepts apologies for wrongs, only acquiesces in the evidence of his weakness. Harris on this exclaims "A spirited Prince would have had a satisfaction as public as the injury itself, and thereby have shown the world that he was worthy of the sovereignty of those seas which he claimed."

Thus Charles has sometimes incurred reproaches where he might rather move our com-

* Strafford's Letters, ii. 267.

passion. The inextricable dilemma into which Charles was now cast, by the course of events, never occurred to this writer of common-place declamation, and whose genius in all respects is mean as his style. The personal distresses of the King were fast gathering on him, but the historian who does not investigate cannot perceive them. The state of his affairs no longer admitted of an expostulation by his own navy; what was just and glorious in 1637 was no longer so in 1639. The mind of Charles was now too deeply engaged in military preparations against his own revolting subjects, while his Exchequer was so utterly exhausted that it became for him a direful necessity to look to the help of his people, to gather the reluctant alms of their loyalty, or to submit once more to the dubious results of those new masters of Sovereignty — the Parliament!

The troubles in Scotland were pressing on the mind of the King, and to reduce that Kingdom to obedience, Charles had resolved to raise an army of thirty thousand men. All foreign affairs became matters of secondary importance, a circumstance fatal to his character as a Sovereign, and which the Cabinets of Europe soon discovered. The unpopularity of the Ship-money continued a source of general discon-

tent, although that tax was neither onerous nor useless. Even those who wished no ill to the King, allowed themselves the utmost freedom in protesting against the decree of the Judges which had legalised it. Waller, who addressed so many loyal poems to Charles, and who when the civil wars broke out, for his adherence to the King, only saved his life by the sacrifice of his fortune, delivered a very impressive speech against this obnoxious tax. Sir William Monson in his Naval tracts has noticed the many factious and scandalous rumours which were invented at the time to persuade the people that all the naval preparations were only an artifice to draw money from the subject. Those who were fined and imprisoned for their contumacy looked for revenge in the North; and the cry against Ship-money, cherished and inflamed by faction, was always greatest when the Monarch was in his extreme distress.

A NOTE ON SHIP-MONEY AND ON THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE SEAS.

Dr. Lingard has done justice to Charles the First in the particular instance of the King's disposal of the Ship-money. "By this contrivance the King obtained a yearly supply of

218,500*l.* and it should be observed that he carefully devoted it to the purpose for which it was demanded." (Lingard, x.—29.)

The careful direction of that tax, Hume has justly urged as a plea for Charles the First; even the cold presbyter Harris nods his acquiescence. Sir Philip Warwick had stated a fact, "The King so sincerely employed the Ship-money that it was never mingled with that in his own Exchequer, but kept apart with their accounts, and yet adding considerably of his own treasures to it."

But other more popular history may show how the history of this period has often been written. Oldmixon, that infamous of all historians, who has degraded history into ribaldry, and whose folio volume on the Stuarts at the day and with a party, seems to have passed for authentic history, condemns the great enterprise of Charles as sheer folly. Sir Philip Warwick, a distinguished gentleman and actor in the events of his time, he criticises as "a writer below reflection; his matter, his style and integrity are all of a piece, and 'tis ridiculous to be serious about him." "The Critical Historian," as Oldmixon calls himself, therefore ridicules the notion that "The King kept all the Ship-money in a bag by itself." All the service

done by the revenue from the Ship-money was "clearing the Channel of a few Turkish rovers, and the frighting our Protestant allies, the Hollanders." The great State-principle of the Sovereignty of the Sea—the tributary treaty—and the retreat of the combined fleets of France and Holland—are wholly dropped in this faithless narrative.

Mrs. Macaulay was somewhat sensible to the firm and intrepid conduct of the King; but the meed of glory she awards is mildewed by a sneer! Listen to her! "Charles now seems to be in the meridian of what he termed glory; he had fairly placed the yoke on the neck of his own subjects, and by the seizure of their purse had found means to humble the Hollanders, whose independent flourishing state had ever been an eye-sore to the Stuarts."

With Smollet, all these transactions, the historian sagaciously discovers, were founded on mere *pretences!* He ascribes the levying the Ship-money "to a *pretence* of the nation's being in danger of a *league* concluded between France and the United Provinces," which we have shown, and still have to show, assuredly existed. And further, "that a *pretence* might not be wanting for levying the tax of Ship-money all over the kingdom, Charles published a procla-

mation forbidding all foreigners to fish on the coasts of Britain." Doubtless the historian and his readers were satisfied that in these "pretences," they had discovered the whole secret history of these public events!

At length we reach the illumination of Mr. Brodie's history, our own contemporary who knows far better than any of his predecessors, how the ship-money was disposed of. "The English had not the consolation of thinking that the money extorted from them was destined to *any useful purpose;* luxury, hungry courtiers, and the Queen's French attendants consumed the greater part of this ill-acquired treasure, while a *portion of it* was applied towards overturning the liberties and religion of Scotland." (ii. 401.) Had we not known the *moderate supply* of the ship-money, and the *heavy charges* of fitting out the most formidable fleet which England had ever put to sea, and farther, on the authority of Sir Philip Warwick — though this obvious fact required no authority — that the King was often compelled to supply its deficiencies from his own Exchequer, had we not known all this, we might have congratulated Mr. Brodie on the secret sources of his history of the disposal of the ship-money. But Mr. Brodie is only mis-

taken in his arithmetic! Let Mr. Brodie deduct from the gross receipts of the ship-money, so much for "luxury,"—so much for "hungry courtiers"—so much for "French attendants"—and place contra—"sixty ships of war"—and he will find that not an obolus will remain for "overturning the liberties and religion of Scotland." All this is serious truth—and every item which Mr. Brodie has here enumerated as having been furnished by ship-money is chimerical. Mr. Brodie, like Mr. Oldmixon, was never blessed with that vision of the Sovereignty of the Sea which Selden inspired, and Charles established. I cannot help adding one of Mr. Oldmixon's phrases when alluding to Clarendon, Warwick, and others—"You see what history they give us!"

Mr. Hallam will pardon the notice of an expression of his somewhat inaccurate in regard to the subject. "There wanted not reasons in the Cabinet of Charles for placing the navy at times on *a respectable footing*." (i. 165.) Thus, all that I have written on the Sovereignty of the Sea; all that Selden has sent down to posterity in his immortal "Mare Clausum;" and that miracle of our fleet, "the Sovereign of the Seas"—the inscribed cannon—and those legacies of fame—the medals of Charles the First, with all the greatness of the noble

emprise, is clouded over by "a respectable footing."

I fly to the vivacious philosophy of Monsieur Guizot, the French historian of the reign of Charles the First. Monsieur Guizot I find writing too well—his emphatic style and his *tableau des moeurs*—might have occasioned an attack of hypochrondriasm in Madame de Staël, for one does not like to be excelled in one's own way. I turn over page after page—for "the Sovereignty of the Sea"—not a word! nor of Charles's noble resistance to the seductions of Richelieu—I turn over page after page—not a word! Though Monsieur Guizot seems at times to know much more than we know, yet at others, he seems to know much less. All this has been unlucky for Charles the First, but the Monarch has been worse treated!

It is excessively amusing to turn to the recent Biographie Universelle,* where we may collect some instruction relative to the systematic perseverance of our Government from the days of Charles the First to those of George the Third, in maintaining the Sovereignty of the Sea.

Our Gallic contemporary tells us that "the principles which *Charles the First avowed,* were also those of Cromwell, and produced the

* Biog. Univ. xli. 502.

Dutch war." Here I find an omission in his chronological view, which I shall supply. He has not told us that Charles the Second was once patriotic enough in 1675, to declare that he would risk his crown rather than his Sovereignty at Sea, and when a French squadron refused to strike to the British flag in the English Channel, the French Captain who had offered the insult, was sent over to implore the pardon of the English Monarch.* He proceeds with William the Third, who in a manifesto reproaches Louis the Fourteenth for having allowed his subjects to violate the rights of the sovereignty of the English crown in the Britannic seas—and George the Third in the last wars appears fully to have followed up the system of his predecessors. From these facts, which we are very far from denying, the result discovered by the French diplomate, is "that these facts sufficiently prove how these Monarchs had not abandoned the doctrine of Selden!" Our critic henceforward will, I hope, do us islanders the justice to observe our consistency in attending to our own interests, and commend us for the fearlessness which has defended them — it has cost more Dutch than French blood.

* Ralph's History of England, i. 284.

CHAPTER XX.

OF THE COMMOTIONS OF SCOTLAND.

THE insurrection of Scotland might have proved to Charles the First an extraordinary source of political instruction; but the limited policy of this monarch, the policy of the times, was preservative, not creative. It was to support what was established, and not to discover what was remedial.

In the government of the Church and the State his principle was immutable conformity; a principle which naturally repulsed strange innovations which to the King appeared secretly subverting the Monarchy, while they offered no substitute for that Episcopacy which they would abolish, but another Prelacy of a meaner character, yet of a more audacious and turbulent genius.

The time was at hand when this fated Monarch was about to be hurried on through a

dark labyrinth of factions and revolutions. It was to be a struggle to which the genius of the man was incompetent, uncongenial to his temper, and novel to his experience. The second Stuart was not one of those rare minds who create an epoch in the history of nations, and who anticipating a distant posterity, discover a wisdom not of their own age. Charles the First could not like Henry VIII. have passionately struck out a great revolution, or have terminated one with the cautious decision of Elizabeth; in the one case Charles would have looked in vain, for a precedent of Reformation, and in the other by some hastiness of conduct he would have been thrown into situations whence he could only have extricated himself by retraction or concession.

The commotions of Scotland are a prototype of the Civil war which afterwards broke out in England, and corresponded closely with all the great points of our greater struggle. From an early period the movements of the Covenanters were regulated by their confederates, among the patriotic party in England. Our patriots in that secret alliance not only adopted the principles, but even the mode of the proceedings of the Covenanters; in a word the English Revolution was modelled by the Scot-

tish Insurrection. In the complicated question of the progress of our Revolution under Charles the First, this becomes an important position, which has not fixed the attention of our historians.

The Scots were our tutors in the artifices of popular democracy, and those mysteries of insurgency which afterwards were systematized by ourselves. They were the contrivers of that terrific revolutionary engine — a mobocracy; and it was from them that we learnt how to organize a people in vast masses, so as to assemble or to disperse them at will. Their petitions and remonstrances served as our models when in a similar submissive style of loyalty, they kept drilling throughout the whole kingdom. This subtile party even practised the arts of political flattery; at the moment they were insolent in the success of their arms, they apologized for their invasion; and his Majesty's loyal subjects of Scotland were only rebellious in their acts. In the fall of the Hierarchy, through all its stages, the English Commons were but the servile imitators of the Scottish Covenanters. The leaders of faction, both at home and in Scotland, were indeed but few; they had however engaged the whole people on their side by covering their own design

which was a subversion of the government, and making religion their ostensible and national object. Fanaticism has all the characteristics which faction delights in; undismayed by peril, and most triumphant when opposed, it hurries on without sense to discover its folly, and without remorse to avert its crimes. Private interests, and personal jealousies were often disguised by the Scottish Insurgents in the parties which they formed. In this vast and confused struggle the principles of constitutional liberty were sometimes developed and asserted; the first statute for triennial Parliaments originated in Scotland; and thus the independence of Parliaments was secured by the prevention of their disuse.* Both parties alike in England and in Scotland finally succeeded in objects more concealed; the national avarice of the Covenanters sold their Sovereign, and the remorseless republicanism of the other, murdered him—and both the Pres-

* Laing's Hist. of Scotland, iii.

Rushworth iv—188, where we find the King's Speech on passing the act for triennial Parliaments. Feb. 15, 1640. The Speech in many respects is remarkable; the King observes "This is the greatest expression of *my trust in your affections to me*, that before you do any thing for me I do put such a confidence in you."

byter, and the Republican, finally sank with their victim!

The King's conduct, from first to last, in the Scottish Revolution, was precisely similar to that which governed him in England. We discover in his first commands the same regal tone of authority; in his measures the same indecision; and at length in their result the same entire concessions, but all granted however to no purpose! Inflexible, or yielding, the fortune of the King was alike malignant. Baillie the able Scotch Covenanter, who possessed a personal knowledge of the Court, and of the leaders of the parties, when the last great scene was approaching, has thrown out an observation which properly understood conveys a great truth. "It has been the King's perpetual fault to grant his people's desires by bits, and so late he ever lost his thanks." We must remember, however, that "the people's desires" in the style of a partisan, always mean the system of that partisan. With Baillie "the people's desires" meant the unbishoping of Bishops and a Covenanting King of England!

Had Charles the First proved to be such a creature of circumstance, as to have subscribed himself a Covenanter, all Scotland, and half of England, might have been too strong for the

ruling party in Parliament. The English Parliament were indeed early jealous of the King's intercourse with the Scots; and Charles in his mind, seems to have had some latent design of winning over his countrymen to his side; but when the Scots insisted that the royal hand should be set to their famous national covenant whatever might be the policy of his negotiations, their real object became unattainable. Charles conceded often reluctantly. Forced to act against his will, he could not be always sincere; but it is not less true that his inflexibility sprang oftener from principle, than from policy.

The history of the Scottish commotions is neither a digression, nor an episode, in the history of Charles the First, or in that of the causes of the revolutionary measures of his reign. The character of the Monarch developed itself in its progress, as well as the arts and practices of the insurgents, till at length we discover how the Scottish insurrection terminated in the great revolution of England.

To comprehend the secret motives, and the dark intrigues which prevailed in the Scottish affairs, we must rapidly review the state of Scotland from the Reformation; the descendants of the first actors in that busy era of reform and spoliation, were still performing their

hereditary parts, and the same principles were operating on their conduct.

The Reformation in Scotland had been mainly effected by those friars who were the popular preachers in opposition to the regular clergy. These divine orators of the multitude, at the same time instigated the people from their pulpits, and engaged in their cause those noble reformers who were first called "The Lords of the Congregation," by pandering to their passions of ambition or of avarice. These preachers were a rabid swarm of public disturbers engendered by the heat and fury of the times; Knox himself acknowledges that they were blamed as "indiscreet persons, yea, some called them railers, and worse.—Amongst others, peradventure, my rude plainness displeased, for some complained that rashly I spoke of men's faults. But alas! my conscience accuseth me that I spoke not so plainly as my duty was to have done; for I ought to have said to the wicked man expressly by his name, 'Thou shalt die the death!' For I find Jeremiah the prophet to have done so to Pashur the High-priest, and to Zedekiah the king. And not only he, but Elijah, Elisha, Micah, Amos, Daniel, Christ Jesus himself, and after him his apostles, expressly to name the blood-thirsty

tyrants, and abominable idolaters." Here we have the full-length of a saint, armed with all the terrors, if not the daggers, of his "Godliness,"—and a nation was to be revolutionized by a horde of fanatics, who imagined themselves to be "more pure" than their brother Protestants; or who, as Knox himself declares, were "appointed by God to be the salt of the earth." In the warmth of his simplicity Knox reproaches himself with his mildness, which he ascribes "to the blind love that I did bear to this my wicked carcase."*

These fanatical preachers aided by the nobles were hurrying on the eventful revolution. The wealth and the lands of the church lay before these parties, an enormous body and an easy prey! The rapacious feudal Aristocracy profiting by the disordered state of the government, became sole masters of the soil, sharing among themselves the rich spoliations of abbeys, and monasteries, and cathedrals; and what they had found no difficulty to grasp, their arm was potent to retain.

Andrew Melville brought from Geneva that model of ecclesiastical polity which Calvin had

* The Admonition of John Knox to the true professors of the Gospel of England.

suited to his parochial republic. Knox was disposed at first to have bishops, under the novel title of Superintendents. By the revelations of these apostles of democracy, the Scottish people however soon discovered that Episcopacy was "a great chip of the old block, Popery;" and they were taught to exult, in the words of Knox, that in regard to "the primitive and apostolic church—no realm this day upon the face of the earth hath the like purity—for all others retain in their churches some footsteps of Anti-Christ and dregs of Popery."* And the mob of "the Kirk brake down the altars and the images;" the lands of the Ecclesiastics were reserved for the zeal of "the Lords of the Congregation."

Gratified at first by that reforming spirit which had ejected their ancient masters, "the godly ministers" possibly did not imagine that they themselves were not to partake of that temporal spoil, they had so spiritually spread, or as Knox plainly called it, "the rents of the Church." The fierce disciple of Calvin, lived to discover this error; for he has himself told us that whenever he remonstrated with "the

* Knox's History of the Reformation, in the opening of his fourth Book.

lords of the congregation," suggesting some reformation among themselves, such as more leniency in the slavery of their serfs; and more bountifulness for the maintenance of "the poore ministers," the gripers of abbeys and cathedrals mocked their own fiery Apostle by treating these rebukes as nothing but "devout imaginations." Knox has libelled for posterity a certain Lord Erskine, "who had a very evil woman to his wife, and if the poor, the schools, and the ministry of the Church had their own, his kitchen would lack two parts and more of that which he unjustly possesseth."

The nobility were in truth exercising the most arbitrary power; the peasant was crushed by vassalage; and during the minority of James, the unprincipled conduct of one ambitious, and one avaricious Regent, had wrested from the Crown its inalienable rights in regalities and tythes which Parliament had annexed to it; all which this usurping aristocracy had silently shared among themselves. It was observed that these lords exacted the tythes with a rigour and wantonness of oppression to which the people had never been exposed from the Catholic clergy.*

* Even by the confession of Mr. Brodie, Hist. of the British Empire, ii. 409. See Malcolm Laing's luminous statement, iii. 89—94.

The Scottish nobles considered that it was their great interest to continue their patronage to the popular preachers; and indeed neither party could exist with any security independently of the other. While Presbytery flourished, it kept out the claims of the ancient owners of the church-lands, whose present possessors dreaded the horror of a returning Hierarchy; and the Mar-prelates themselves, although they had resigned to the nobility the spoils of the Church, because they were not suffered to be partakers, were not however insensible that they possessed no inferior dominion in leading the understandings, and rousing at will the passions of a people, whose rudeness, just emerging from the blindest superstition, was so favourable to the wildest impulses of the fanatical spirit.

This democracy of priests assumed a power, absolute as that Papal supremacy, which while it formed the perpetual object of their clamorous invectives, they secretly aspired to transfer to themselves. These denunciators of Popery, were themselves Popes to a man. It was the dangerous principle of this novel community that the Ecclesiastical was totally separated, and independent of the Civil power; and that these oracles of Heaven were not accountable for any treason which they preached before the

tribunals of man, but only to an Ecclesiastical judicature, where the most obnoxious were sure to receive only a gentle rebuke. Nor were these the only tenets which they held inconsistent with good government; all which, though but a vulgar mimicry of the system which they had abrogated, the rude people looked on with indulgence, or rather with pleasure, as excesses of holy zeal.* We have shown in the history of the Puritans, that there were among these political Rabbins some whose doctrines soared even much higher, and who secretly aimed at establishing no less than the supremacy of the Ecclesiastical power over the civil magistrate.

These men of Parity, the Ministers of Scotland, continued to be a turbulent race, and particularly the junior apostles of sedition. These delighted the populace by their juvenile audacity; their stinging personalities were libels on the Court; and while they were ringing alarums of Popery, they were rebuking the Royal Council. James the First seems to have known their designs as well as their pride. His *naive* description of these demagogues was thrown out in the warmth of his feelings at the famous conference at Hampton Court,

* Burnet's Memoires of the Hamiltons, 28.

where assuming his rank as Sovereign, James reiterated to the political rabble of "Jack and Tom, and Will and Dick" that "*Le Roy s'avisera.*"

This government the Scottish Monarch had patiently endured through his minority, and his early reign—the sovereign power rested among the aristocracy; the people remained under the influence of their ministers; the monarchy itself was but a shadow, in this half-feudal and half popular government. Hence James at a later day exclaimed "No Bishop! No King!" Episcopacy had been condemned as contrary to the word of God in 1580, and when James discovered some disposition to restore it, the party raised an army, and the King to preserve peace, established Presbyterianism by law in 1592.

By one of those eruptions to which democracy is perpetually inclining, the genius of its followers betrayed itself. A minister had been prosecuted, and the privileges of their "discipline" they insisted had been violated. An armed multitude congregated, and these warlike apostles, impatient at the absence of their generals, for they had their elected commanders, had furiously leaped to their weapons with the fanatical cry of "The sword of the Lord and

of Gideon! It shall be either their's, or our's!" This mob streamed along the streets, and surrounding the Sessions House, where the young King sat in council, had nearly forced the gates. A company of musketeers secretly introduced by the back stairs, protected the King and the Council, in their escape to the palace of Holy-Rood; on the following day the King left Edinburgh. This headless multitude dispersed at the intreaty of the Provost, in the same confused way they had assembled.

This open violence gave a fatal blow to the audacity of these democratic assemblies; they were even deserted by their former patrons, the nobles, who cared not to espouse a quarrel which tended to strengthen a licentious predominance in the state.* James on his side, again attempted to break down this over-grown power of the people by taking advantage of the odium the party had incurred.

This rebellion, as many considered it to be, was somewhat favourable to the revival of Episcopacy. When James ascended the throne of England, he found many of their own party

* Bishop Guthry says, in his Scottish Gallic idiom, that "this meschant business" was called "the seventeenth of December" to mark their detestation of the day.

to curb the insolence of these pugnacious saints, ready to admit the establishment of Episcopacy, without however abolishing the Presbytery itself. Two opposing parties thus divided the country; the one maintaining the Presbyterial Kirk of Scotland, and the other advocating the Episcopal Church of England.

An uniformity in religion prompted James the First to require an uniformity in worship, that both the great Churches of his two nations might constitute an unity in their government. The Marquis of Hamilton, father to him who is soon to come forward on the scene, with great prudence and greater dexterity, consequently procured the passing of the five articles of Perth: these turned on certain customs, or Rites of the Anglican Church, as innocent as may be, and the sole object of which was to produce an uniformity in the Church service. These acts of Parliament did not however pass without considerable opposition, and were accompanied by the protests of the Presbyters. James was still anxious to press on the Scots a Liturgy on the model of the Church of England; but Hamilton deemed it more prudent to secure what he had already obtained, by assuring the Scottish Parliament

that "the King would not in his days press any more change, or alteration, without their consent."

In all this the pacific Monarch had acted with cautious policy; he had exercised no severity, and had adopted a legal form in wrestling with the stubborn Kirk. James relinquished the future attempt at conformity, a favourite object with the statesmen of that age. Bishop Guthry, a warm votary for Episcopacy, seems surprised that the Bishops waived the Royal motion, and proceeded no further in establishing the uniformity of their Ecclesiastical discipline; but this Bishop was not so well acquainted as ourselves with the King's feelings on this occasion. James, convinced that he could not obtain all that was desirable, with prescient sagacity observed on Laud, who was urging him to a stricter union of the two Churches, by introducing the Anglican Liturgy and drawing up the Canons, that "he was a restless spirit who could not see when matters are well, but loves to toss and change, and to bring things to a pitch of reformation floating in his own brain which may endanger the steadfastness of that which is in a good pass, God be praised! I speak not at random, for he hath made himself known to me." "When

three years since," continued the King, "I had obtained of the Assembly of Perth to consent to five articles of order and decency in correspondence with this Church of England, I promised that I would try their obedience no farther anent Ecclesiastical affairs, nor put them out of their own way which custom has made pleasing unto them." A second project of Laud, was equally resisted by the prudential policy of James, who observed "Laud knows not the stomach of that people, but I ken the story of my grandmother, the Queen Regent, that after she was inveigled to break her promise made at a Perth meeting never saw good day, and being much beloved before, was despised by all the people."*

Charles renewed his father's scheme, and listened to Laud, urged on by his conscience—his policy—or his fate. To plant the Hierarchy in a land of Presbyters; to establish

* This remarkable conversation of James the First with the Lord-Keeper Williams discovers that shrewdness and sagacity often prevalent in his thoughtful hours. His prediction of Laud's own character, is a very remarkable instance of political foresight. When solicited for his promotion —"Take him," said James, "since you will have him, but ye will surely repent it." Hacket's Life of Archbishop Williams, 64.

that Monarchical institution among a fierce democracy; to exact conformity with the Anglican Church from the sullen sons of Calvin, proud of their opposition to England, not only from a religious but a national feeling, was now to be the perilous labour of Charles the First. The King does not appear to have been aware that he had to extirpate the nation, ere he could abrogate its Presbytery, and he proceeded inconscious of the conspiracies and disaffections around him.

On his first visit to Scotland, Charles had left no doubts of his adherence to Episcopacy. The Presbyters baffled in their last hopes, propagated their discontents, backed by a jealous nobility, who looked on the Bishops either as encroachers on their own aristocratic power in the State, or as possible reclaimers of their ancient patrimonies.

Charles, as he had done in England, to aggrandise the Bishops in dignity and power, conferred on them offices in the administration, which the nobility had considered as the apportioned objects of their ambition. Those who had sought and missed preferment, saw themselves supplanted by a new race of intruders; and those who occupied the highest places cast an evil eye on the Churchmen who

were designing their fall. The Lord of Lorn, afterwards the famous Argyle who became the head of the Covenanters, had largely partaken of honours and emoluments; yet he was long a secret Covenanter, till at length he threw off the mask, either from displeasure at the King's refusal of the Chancellorship conferred on the Archbishop of St. Andrew's; or from a knowledge that his wiles had been detected, and that it had been resolved by the Court, that the Earl of Antrim should be allowed his claims on some of Argyle's lands. At the bottom of this burst of patriotism, as is too usual, there lies no small share of private feeling.* The Earl of Traquair though openly professing friendship for the Bishops, and conforming himself to the schemes of his royal master, was also their secret enemy. Traquair imagined that these ecclesiastics were colleaguing with Maxwell the Bishop of Ross, and that this person the most able of the order,

* Bishop Guthry, p. 12, assigns the one motive, but whether "ill-naturedly" as the Presbyter Woodrow would say, who shall determine? The other we positively discover in a letter of the Earl of Strafford, ii. 325. It had been resolved in council in England before Argyle declared for the Covenanters. It was probably not unknown to Argyle. Malcolm Laing inclines to this supposition. It is probable that both motives combined with an equal impulse.

and the most ambitious, was grasping at the Treasurer's staff which the Earl held.

The Bishops however were divided among themselves; the body was composed of an old and a new party, acting on contrary principles. The election of the Scottish Bishops had been wisely managed by James, who had appointed the Archbishop of St. Andrew's to convene the Bishops, and name three or four, from whom the King reserved to himself the power of nominating to the vacant see, and during his reign, according to Bishop Guthry, none but men well qualified were advanced. Charles had changed this system, and transferred to his own court at London the seat of Scottish preferment. Bishops were now the children of court-favour, the creatures of patronage; and it is not surprising that in the day of trial, several of these, when patronage was to be sought elsewhere, hurried to apostasy. Buckingham's recommendation made Lesley a Bishop of the Isles; Maxwell of the bed-chamber procured his relative, the bishopric of Ross. Archbishop Laud made others, and the Earl of Sterling, Secretary of Scotland, had a mitre for his friend. These younger Bishops, not being indebted to their elder brethren for their preferment, kept themselves apart, more con-

stant in their correspondence with Laud, than in concerting measures among themselves, their sole object being to keep up their interest at Court. More fiery, being young in office, than the elder Bishops, they were prompt at any enterprise suggested to them; and with the impolicy of heedless authority, were irritating the Presbyterian Ministry with a haughtiness which the elder Bishops had ever avoided. Laud at Court was easily misled by the ardent correspondence of the younger Bishops. The prudent Archbishop of St. Andrew's, and the elder ecclesiastics persisted in their advice to suppress "the Buke," as the Scotch called the Liturgy, till a happier juncture; a counsel which would probably have been accepted had the Scotch Bishops been unanimous in their opinion; but the younger mitres were more stirring and more sanguine. When a corporate body differ so widely in their sentiments, it is only a great Minister whose penetrating genius can discern the secret motives of the men; the Statesman of routine, will usually adopt the opinion suitable to his own design.

The great coming evil was chiefly accomplished, as it appears, by the malicious manœuvre of the Earl of Traquair, who intent on the ruin of the Scottish Hierarchy concurred with

Laud and his party, in promoting the most decisive measures; talking to them in their own language; blaming the phlegmatic Bishops as timorous creatures, whose sees required to be filled by more active spirits, and pledging "his life" to carry them through the business were he entrusted with its execution. Laud confided in his young Bishops; the young Bishops in the Earl of Traquair. The Earl was appointed; and finally the Earl himself actually signed the Covenant which abolished Episcopacy!

During the preparations for the approaching day, the public mind was heated by the most malicious reports respecting the Bishops. Tales flew about from all quarters against their worldly spirit.—It was said that they were heaping estates for their children; that they dealt in simoniacal practices; and that these remnants of Popery were furbishing up the old mass. These were the rumours of Presbyters; there were others from another class; the Bishops, it seems, were not only trampling on the Church, but they were domineering in the State.

An ecclesiastical spy, in gathering the secret intelligence which occupies such men, seems

to have opened one of the great sources of the enmity of the majority of the nobility who had now concluded on the removal of Bishops from the third order of the State. It appears that these Ecclesiastics had obtained a singular predominance in Parliament; eight being Lords of the Articles, chose eight of the nobility known to be friendly to the Crown, and these sixteen the rest; so that all depended on them, and they upon the King.*

The same spirit had travelled from England, and was cordially embraced by the Scottish malcontents. The recent prosecutions in the Star-Chamber against Prynne, Bastwick and Burton, and the Declaration of the Book of Sports, had at this unlucky moment kindled new flames of discord. There was an active Scotch party at London in close connection with the great one at Edinburgh; and their sagacious and active agent, on his return from England in giving an account of his successful negotiations with the English Non-conformists, in politics as much as in Church-discipline, assured his masters that "the English

* Sir David Dalrymple, 47, observes that this is very rational and intelligible, and yet it seems to have escaped the observation of eminent historians.

had the same design of Reformation in their Church,"—he might have added in their State —" as soon as the work should begin here."*

At length approached the evil day.—It had been deferred by the advice of the Earl of Traquair, on the plea that some preparatory methods might render the people more cheerful on this eventful occasion; this had also furnished the Opposition with full time to concert their measures. It was proclaimed from all the pulpits, that on Sunday the 23d of July " the Service-Book" would be read in all the churches.

But surely it never was! though for that reading came in solemn procession, the Chancellor, the Prelates, the Lords of the Sessions, the Provost, and the whole Council of the City. Scarcely had the Dean of Edinburgh opened " The Buke," than opened that memorable scene in which the confusion was so sudden, and so various, that all the accounts give different particulars.† The universal hubbub may be imagined, but the language of the individuals can only be conceived in its Doric

* Bishop Guthry, i. 3.

† The memorable scene has been more minutely related by Mr. Brodie in a collection of curious extracts from contemporary vouchers.

naïveté, which best shows the sort of people here congregated. The popular axiom that the voice of the people is the voice of God, was happily illustrated on the present occasion of this mobocracy, when they were afterwards compared to Balaam's ass; an animal, in itself stupid and senseless, but whose mouth had been opened by the Lord.

A terrible yelling, and clapping, intermingled with curses and groans, and when they could be heard, the sobbings of the soft-hearted gentlewomen as they sighed that "Baal was in the Church," and the broad nicknames of the insolent viragos calling the Dean, "One of a witch's breeding, and the De'ils gette (child)" —shook the church, in vain designed to be raised into a cathedral!

Fearless awhile, the stout-hearted Dean suddenly panic-struck, slipped through his surplice, leaving behind him this white trophy of the future Covenanters. Then the Bishop showed himself in the pulpit; a portly personage, who might have urged a better excuse than the Dean, for an "alacrity in sinking." The vocabulary of the mob, prompt as it is copious, instantly saluted the Anti-Christian Wolf —"the beastly belly-god—the crafty fox!" The echo reverberated "a Pape! a Pape!" to be

stoned—or "to get the thrapple out of him," —that is, to cut his wind-pipe. Hardly escaped the bishop with a tremulous life; conveyed away in the coach of the Earl of Roxburgh, himself suspected of raising this mobocracy; showers of stones were flung, and the Bishop narrowly escaped the martyrdom of St. Stephen.*

This revolutionary outrage originated with females. The High-church, now presumed to be a cathedral, it was observed was crowded with women, chiefly of the lower orders; old wives, and servant-lasses, otherwise "the godly females," were the indomitable champions of the Kirk. Of these an irascible crone—more heroine than she who damaged her Bible by thumping "the false thief," as she called the young man who unluckily responded "Amen" to "the Buke"—launched from her withered hand "the thunderbolt of her zeal," in the stool she sate on. Averted by some friendly hand, it flew whizzing by the Bishop's ear. This set the example of an universal rout. After a conflict the insurgents were dislodged from the interior—the service was hurried over—

* This tumult was called in Scotland "Stony Sunday," and Sir James Balfour has entitled his narrative "Stoniefield day."

amidst the rapping of the doors, the stones flying in at the windows, and the reverberating shouts of an infuriated multitude storming the High-church.

It seems that this old wife Janet Geddes has secured her respectability in Scottish history; and she, who the week before, as tells the scandalous chronicle, had sate upon the stool of repentance, is sainted by throwing one at the Bishop's head. Her name has been immortalised by Burns, and the glorious attitude of this testy crone, hurling her stool at the Bishop in the pulpit, is triumphantly perpetuated in a vignette of one of the volumes of the magician of the North. For the strength of the patriotism, we may forgive the grossness of the taste, which by a rhyme, and a print, thus gratifies the passsions of the populace which it demoralises, by confounding an act of insolence done by a base hand, with a deed which merits the admiration of a people.

The story of a furious beldame beginning the fray, by casting her stool at the Bishop's head, who then retreated from the pulpit, Mr. Brodie seems to doubt, for he could only trace it to De Foe's memorial of the Scottish Church, and surmises that the tale originated in the woman who beat "the false thief" with her Bible. I

have however discovered a manuscript document of the time—it is a warrant from Secretary Windebank for Rushworth riding post to Berwick, authorising him to procure horses on the road. On this warrant, our great noter of the history of his times, has set down various memoranda, as seems to have been his habit. The present is one.—"Md^m. I was at Edenborough presently after the first disturbance by the woman throwing a stoole at the Bishop's head; a small thing to be the beginning of a war."*

This reflection of our great historical collector conveys to us no favourable idea of his political sagacity. It was however the prevalent notion of the times, and the old Beldame's stool we see has been commemorated in Scottish history, and is still so attractive as to furnish a popular frontispiece to a volume which should have disdained it.

The truth however is, that this was no unpremeditated riot—it was a concerted measure—and the names of the plotters of this memorable scene have been recorded with particulars which sufficiently authenticate the fact.

So early as in April, the famous Alexander Henderson, and another minister, schemed the

* Sloane MSS. 1519.

whole, and having consulted Lord Balmerino, a zealous Scotch patriot, whose zeal had once put his head in peril, and Sir Thomas Hope who was the King's advocate by office, but much more the Kirk's advocate in heart, the whole affair was arranged at a house in the Cowgate among a senate of matrons. To encourage these heroines and their associates, to this valorous onset, they were assured that the men would afterwards take the business out of their hands.* Having organized this odd conspiracy, the plotters themselves left the city, and their interference escaped detection, by their cunning absence. No one seemed to countenance this unexpected sedition which was considered as a mere ebullition of the rabble—ceasing with the hour it passed away. It however excited surprise, that not even a single person of the lower orders, was brought forward to undergo even a mockery of punishment; and such was the silent understanding of the parties, that when the Bishops were in personal danger, they knew to what popular nobleman to apply for protection, at whose presence they were conscious these raging waves of the people would ebb and subside. To us, who are better acquainted with the

* Guthry, 20.

secret history of the times, than contemporaries, this tumult assumes a higher importance than to those who witnessed it.

Some of these women had been tutored by persons of superior rank and intelligence. When one of these viragos, worthy to have flourished in the sanguinary streets of Paris or Lyons, expressed her ardent wish to cut the Bishop's wind-pipe, and was told that a much worse man might come in his stead, "No!" she exclaimed, "when Cardinal Beaton was sticked, we had never another Cardinal sin syne." Such an incident and such a reflection could not have sprung from the mind of the lowest of the rabble particularly of those times.

That such a memorable scene of an universal movement of public opinion should have passed away as a transient ebullition of popular feeling may surprise us, who view in it the awful prelude to the great Insurrection, when "the four tables," of nobility, of gentry, of ministers, and of burghers, were to convulse the whole Government with a democracy, and the shout of rebellion was to be echoed as a hundred thousand hands were to be lifted to

* This curious fact is given by Mr. Brodie, from Sir James Balfour's "Stonie-field Day," ii. 455.

Heaven to ratify "the Covenant." But when we consider the complicated intrigues which had been silently preparing, unmarked and unsuspected by the Scottish Bishops, we find how men in power are not the most lively observers, and often stand insulated and unconnected with the more active spirits of the times. One only among them saw at once the results; the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, Primate and Chancellor, wofully exclaimed, "The labour of thirty years is lost for ever in one day!" The Bishops reposed on the wisdom and the strength of the King's far-distant Council, writing up to London for advice, and never advising themselves. They only discovered the true state of affairs at the moment of their consternation and their flight, when they were summoned to "the Tables," not to take their equal seats, but to hear their condemnation, and to learn their perpetual ejection from the State.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

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